

Equality

February · 15c

THE AMERICAN WAY ★ EQUAL RIGHTS AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

FATHER COUGHLIN KNOWS HE LIES

Facts and Documents
about the Christian Front

1 Year of Relief—or 2 Weeks of War?

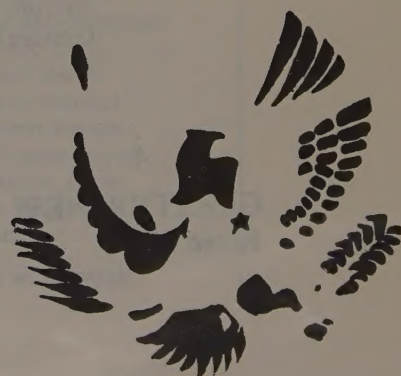
By SAMUEL GRAFTON

War vs. Civil Liberties

By JUDGE JOHN GUTKNECHT

*Slandering the Negro:
an Old Un-American Custom*

By L. D. REDDICK and ALBERT MALTZ



Call

TO A

Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights

TO BE HELD ON

Monday, February 12, 1940 at 2 P. M.

AT

TWO WEST SIXTY-FOURTH STREET - NEW YORK CITY
THE MEETING HOUSE OF THE SOCIETY FOR ETHICAL CULTURE



Organized anti-democratic forces are threatening the security and freedom of human personality and the rights of minority groups here in the United States. They are dividing, confusing and weakening those who wish to maintain our free democratic institutions. Such forces of oppression and fear, growing stronger because of the war in Europe, must not be permitted to overwhelm us. Never before have our constitutional liberties been under such concerted attack.

At this moment we have a special responsibility as a united people to meet our danger and to protect our rights. The churches, schools, labor unions, settlements, fraternal orders and organizations for service, and the many smaller free associations of the people are centers of powerful influence. Only by their concerted action can we hope to counteract the attacks made on minorities by organized groups who take the law into their own hands, and by those who would use legislation against the foreign-born as a subterfuge to impose upon us drastic restrictions of our civil rights—fingerprinting, concentration camps, segregation, and the denial of our rights of protest. Concerted action is particularly necessary to defend our security and standards of living from organized attack.

There are literally thousands of non-political organizations in the City of New York which are vitally concerned with the maintenance of the Bill of Rights. This call to a Conference is addressed to them. In this Conference they will determine the best and most fruitful methods of coping with the dangers threatening them in their local neighborhood communities and in the legislative assemblies of the state and of the nation.

This Conference has been initiated by the National Emergency Conference, Franz Boas, Chairman. The administrative responsibilities are being carried by the New York City Co-Ordinating Committee for Democratic Action. The whole Conference is under the direction of the Executive and General Committees listed in connection with this call.

ROBERT W. SEARLE, Chairman

GREATER NEW YORK EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON INALIENABLE RIGHTS
Room 508 2 West 43rd Street, New York City Tel. PENnsylvania 6-7948

The arrest of the Coughlinite terrorists broke nicely for J. Edgar Hoover in the news-hungry Monday morning papers—but caught *Equality* right at the threshold of this issue's deadline. We were just about to turn our final copy over to an impatient printer. It was to be a documented exposure of the Ku Klux Klan, which has undergone a gland operation and is now back in the business of hating nearly everybody. But the Klan article will have to wait until the March issue (*d. v.*), for at the moment there are bigger fish to fry. See "Father Coughlin Knows He Lies." . . . MAURICE GOODENOUGH, a former social worker, hammers home the hard-to-learn lesson that you can't turn a "Christian" Fronter into a Christian by agreeing with him. He is on the staff of the New York City Co-ordinating Committee for Democratic Action. . . .

The relative advisability—and cost—of spending for relief or war calls for pungent comment from SAMUEL GRAFTON, the *New York Post's* talented columnist; while JUDGE JOHN GUTKNECHT of the Chicago Municipal Court, who is president of the National Lawyers Guild, warns that we may never see our civil liberties again if we get into war. . . . How we got freedom of the press in the first place is told in the Builders of Democracy series by ALBERT DEUTSCH, who writes the kind of history that we hope our grandchildren will study.

Negro History Week comes in February (11th to 18th) and is a good time to offer retribution for the sins of history texts—and now of the screen. L. D. REDDICK, rising young Negro historian and curator of the Arthur Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature at the New York Public Library, spikes some historical lies. ALBERT MALTZ, winner of the 1938 O'Henry Memorial short story award, shows how deeply phony is G. W. T. W. . . . Laughing won't drive intolerance out of existence, but it may help a little. Not to be solemn all the time, we submit a page of odds and ends headed "In Brief." Appropriate clippings and ideas are solicited. . . . This month's book reviewers are WILLIAM BLAKE, author of *The Painter and the Lady*, and HARVEY O'CONNOR, the biographer of several American fortunes.

With alien-baiting to the fore as a political and promotion racket, BERNHARD OSTROLENK, economist at the College of the City of New York, shows that Dies' fantastic scheme to deport seven million persons (or even a much smaller number) would bring disaster to America. Incidentally, the national conference to be held in defense of the foreign-born at Washington March 2 and 3 is taking on large proportions. . . . Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt likes to tell a story about JACK R. McMICHAEL, national chairman of the American Youth Congress, who contributes the article on "Mr. Youth Goes to Washington." Mr. McMichael, dining at the Roosevelt board with an unexpectedly large group of young people, inquired of the Negro maid before digging in to make sure there was enough left for the servants. He is the only guest (and the F. D. R.s have had many) ever to have been that thoughtful. He's a Georgia youth, by the way. . . .

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Equality

An Independent, Non-Sectarian Monthly Journal to Defend Democratic Rights and Combat Racial and Religious Intolerance

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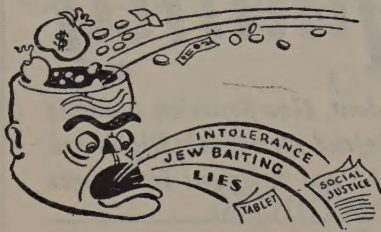
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Notes and Comments



The High Cost of Hate

The S. O. S. call was sent out to Father Coughlin's followers in that catchbasin of falsehood and hate jestingly called *Social Justice*. It seems that the cost of carrying on hate-inciting campaigns on the grandiose scale of the radio priest is mountainous. It takes ten thousand dollars a week to grind out the products of the Coughlin dissension-breeding machine. A cool half million a year! "It will not be possible to pay our bills much longer," runs the urgent Coughlin plea, "unless the sum of \$200,000 will be forthcoming within the next two weeks." Talk about high finance! One wonders how much could be done to advance genuine social justice if all that money might be turned into constructive rather than destructive channels.

Incidentally, other organs dedicated to the propagation of racial and religious hatreds are foundering badly, now that the Nazi source of funds has been somewhat restricted. Among the recent casualties was the *National American*, an openly fascist, anti-Semitic sheet published in New York. Distress signals are being raised by other hate-rousing publications. Here's hoping for a speedy journey to Davy Jones's locker for all of them.

Growth of Good Neighbor Movement

It is an old saw that anti-social movements often engender their opposites. We become more aware of the meaning of democracy when it is under attack. Intolerance makes de-

cent people more conscious of the blessings of tolerance. Additional evidence of this truth comes from New York in the spread of good neighbor and tolerance groups.

When the anti-democratic Coughlinite groups first sprang up in New York City, they gained virtual possession of the streets for their meetings, while a stunned citizenry heard with unbelieving ears their brazen incitements to terror and violence. But it was not long before the fundamental good will of the general public found active expression in a city-wide counter-movement against the "Christian" Front, its allies, and imitators.

During recent months, effectively and without fuss, neighborhood groups have been forming throughout the city in defense of the Bill of Rights. There are now more than twenty such neighborhood organizations promoting tolerance and good will, and their number is rapidly in-



creasing. Each group is headed by prominent educators, clergymen, and other public-minded citizens who reside in the locality. Representative Joseph Gavagan, author of the anti-lynching bill now before Congress, heads the Washington Heights and Inwood Coordinating Committee in Behalf of Persecuted Minorities. Reverends Harry Emerson Fosdick and John Haynes Holmes are among the leading sponsors of the West Side Council for Tolerance.

One of the most active of these neighborhood groups is the South Bronx Committee for Tolerance, organized in one of the major hotbeds

of anti-Semitic propaganda. This committee has begun publication of a periodical, the *Good Neighbor*. Street meetings are held in places that were formerly the exclusive stamping ground of the hate-inciters. These meetings are well attended by local residents who are happy to have the opportunity of hearing sound, democratic American doctrine upheld on the streets of New York. *Equality*, the *Voice for Human Rights*, and other democratic publications are regularly sold at the meetings.

More power to the Good Neighbors!

Dean Landis Scores for Civil Liberty

The report on the Harry Bridges case submitted by Dean James M. Landis of the Harvard Law School was encouraging to all friends of civil liberty. Dean Landis's able, comprehensive document, based on the long, painstaking hearings at San Francisco last summer, completely absolved Bridges of the charges brought against him by those seeking his deportation. It laid special emphasis on the general unreliability and untrustworthiness of witnesses appearing against Bridges. Indeed, the report lends strong credence to the oft-expressed charge that Bridges was the intended victim of a crude frame-up by anti-labor groups who wished to get the able union leader out of the way, with the active aid of organizations and individuals engaged in alien-baiting activities.

Dies Report Condemns Dies

"It is of primary importance to prevent the growth or spread of influence of any organization or group which seeks to undermine democracy and substitute dictatorship of whatever sort for it. But it is at least equally important that in combating subversive groups of this character nothing be done which would undermine the fundamental structure of constitutional liberty itself."—Dies Report.

A well-phrased principle, and we can't for the life of us think of any group that has violated it more persistently and brazenly during the past two years than the Dies Committee.

"The Committee condemns without reservation the evident willingness of some supposedly responsible people to endanger the very civil peace of their country by encouraging, for purely political purposes, suspicion, fear and bigotry of the worst sort."—Dies Report.

We wonder if there were any red faces among the committeemen when they penned this part of the report?

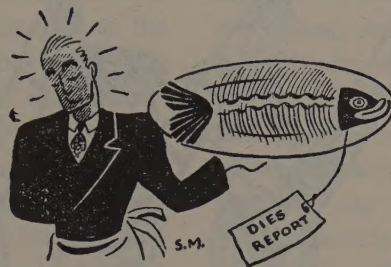
"If the findings of this committee were to be used as a pretext for the building of an un-American movement of any sort on the excuse that such a movement were 'necessary to combat such-and-such a danger to the country' clearly a disservice to our democratic institutions would have been done."—Dies Report.

We don't suppose the committee had in mind the frequent appearances of Chairman Dies as chief speaker at Coughlinite and other un-American meetings, actively encouraging the formation of subversive movements under the cloak of combating "such-and-such a danger to the country." Indeed, if medals were to be given for outstanding "disservice to our democratic institutions," Martin Dies would surely be a leading contender as ignoble prize-man for 1939.

Mountain Begets Mouse

After two years of hysterical hulla-balloo about "red menaces," the Dies Committee report hit the American citizenry with the terrific force of a complete dud. Nearly all the "findings" ground out by the Dies publicity machine and splashed on the front pages in sensational headlines have been repudiated in every essential respect by the final report. It would be difficult to draw up a more effective bill of particulars against the continuance of the Dies Committee than the report itself.

It is known that the original draft went the whole hog in the sort of wild and reckless smearing that has characterized the Dies procedure from the start. The toning down was accomplished only after a struggle waged by the two or three moderates on the seven-man committee during the chairman's absence. For example, the report as drafted by Dies had referred in positive terms to "hundreds" of known Communists on the federal payroll; when a showdown came, the committeemen



who had been repeating these charges *ad nauseam* were unable to produce a single name. Similarly, it is reliably reported that the original draft had implicitly charged every "liberal" in the government employ with being a Communist under the skin.

Notes and Comments is unable to share the sense of satisfaction expressed in some quarters over the comparative mildness of the report as published. Indeed, it may well serve as a blind to help cajole Congress into an extension of the committee's life. We fail to see signs of repentance and possible reform in the committee's un-American methods in the report. Note the canny trick turned by the committeemen in their arbitrary definition of un-American activities as limited to groups "directed, controlled or subsidized by foreign governments or agencies," thus weaseling out of the necessity of investigating native brands of subversion such as the K. K. K., which in many respects are by far the most dangerous.

We are a long-suffering and patient people, but two years of the Dies Committee's antics, performed at public expense, is plenty enough.

Story of Militant Nativism.

Of interest to New York readers concerned with the roots of anti-alienism in America is the course to be offered, beginning February 5, by Dr. Albert Parry, editor of the *Hour*, at Washington Square College for the New York University Division of General Education. It is titled "Pressure Groups and Public Opinion: A Century of Militant Nativism in America, from the Native American Party of the 1830's to the Coughlinites of the 1930's."

Investigate Coughlin!

It is not enough to indict 17 C.F. hoodlums — investigate Father Coughlin's complicity in their terrorist plot! Such is the message wired to the F. B. I. and the Attorney-General by the New York Coordinating Committee for Democratic Action, signed by sixteen distinguished clergymen and scientists:

"We are convinced that the seventeen members of the Christian Front under arrest charged with seditious conspiracy could not have undertaken their fantastic program without financial and moral support and other assistance from higher up. We respectfully suggest that you order a careful check along this line of inquiry and order prompt investigation of the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin's connection with the so-called Christian Front and its leader, John F. Cassidy, one of the seventeen under arrest. It appears to have been in response to Father Coughlin's urgent call for the formation of 'platoons' that the Christian Front was formed. He has publicly praised the 'heroism and zeal' of the Christian Front. On several occasions he has given open encouragement to Cassidy. His threat in a radio speech to use the 'Franco way if necessary' seems to us an incitement to the sort of seditious conspiracy for which the seventeen men, including Cassidy, are under arrest. Documentation of the foregoing statements will be forwarded to you."



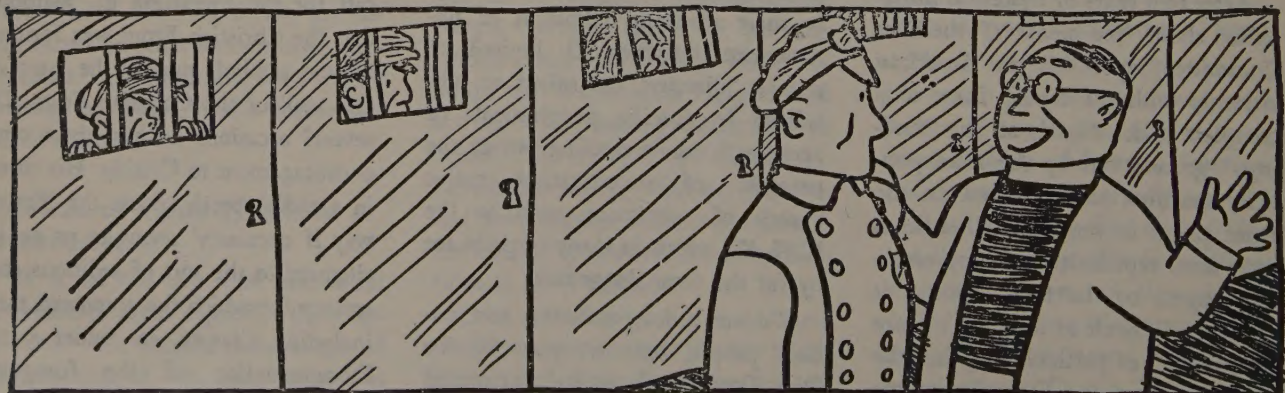
"D'Arcy told how N. Y. sextupled circulation . . . and paid tribute to the assistance of the Christian Front."
(SOCIAL JUSTICE, JULY 24, 1939)



"... units in formation in several cities . . ." (S. J. JULY 24) "... argument having failed . . . no way but . . . the Franco way."
(COUGHLIN, JULY 30)



"Christ . . . lashed the money changers. . . . What, then, are we waiting for—the revolution? Let's go!" (S. J. DEC. 4)



"Who, me? I never saw them before in all my life!"

FATHER COUGHLIN KNOWS HE LIES

An Editorial Statement, with Facts and Documents About the Christian Front

IN OUR issue of October last, the editors of *Equality* addressed an open letter to Archbishop Spellman of New York City which received wide comment in the press and pulpit of this country. In this letter, comprising fifteen pages of documented material, we called the Archbishop's attention to the rise in his jurisdiction of a terroristic movement calling itself the "Christian" Front which was deliberately and effectively perverting the prestige of the Catholic Church for its own sinister ends.

In a spirit of friendship—evidenced by the unceasing and uncompromising attacks in the pages of this journal on all anti-Catholic activities in America—we urged Archbishop Spellman to issue an unmistakable repudiation of the "Christian" Front for the sake of the Church, the people of the New York archdiocese, and American institutions in general. To our profound regret, the Archbishop made no reply to us.

Without going into further particulars, we now extend our urgent request to the American Hierarchy—with special reference to Archbishop Mooney of Detroit, Archbishop Spellman of New York, Bishop Molloy of Brooklyn, Archbishop Glennon of St. Louis, Cardinal O'Connell of Boston, Cardinal Dougherty of Philadelphia, and Archbishop Murray of St. Paul and Minneapolis. In all these centers, "Christian" Front units have entrenched themselves. Our appeal is based on the absolute knowledge that the prime movers of the "Christian" Front have been abusing the authority of the Church as a cloak behind which their sinister work has been carried on. They have been abusing that authority to recruit innocent Catholics into their organization and then bending them to their terroristic and insurrectionary aims.

Equality, since its inception, has unflaggingly exposed and attacked the Coughlinite "Christian" Front, along with all other subversive groups preaching racial and religious bigotry. This campaign we have carried on unflinchingly in the face of Coughlinite terror unleashed against youths of both sexes who dared distribute *Equality* on the streets, and despite threats of violence against the editors regu-

larly received through the mails. The disclosures made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation came as no surprise to us. The main outlines of the Coughlinite plot have long been known to us, and to our readers. While the press of the country, with few exceptions, deemed it advisable to engage in what was tantamount to a "conspiracy of silence" regarding the subversive activities of the "Christian" Front and its promoters, *Equality*, together with several other publications and groups fighting for the preservation of our democratic ideals, waged unrelenting war against the Coughlinite terrorists and their allies. That fight shall continue until America is free of these destructive forces.

Correcting the Record

It shall be our purpose, in this statement, to clear up current misconceptions and to prove that the "Christian" Front—the *specific* Front of John F. Cassidy—is inextricably bound up with Father Coughlin and his organ, *Social Justice*. The statement of Chief J. Edgar Hoover of the F.B.I. to the effect that he understood there was no connection between the Front and Father Coughlin mystifies us, since ample proof to the contrary must have been available to him.

Now come the revelations of the horrible "Christian" Front plot by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Seventeen men have been arrested thus far, and further arrests are expected. The few details initially disclosed would appear incredible to some people were it not for the assurance of F.B.I. officials that the government has in its possession absolute proof of its charges. These charges fully corroborate the allegations made in our Letter of last October, which were received incredulously in some quarters.

We know, too, from the facts in our possession, that Department of Justice agents speak the sober truth in saying that the disclosures thus far made public barely scratch the surface of the "Christian" Front plot. This conspiracy is not merely a "fantastic scheme" spun out by a few irresponsible individuals in humble circumstances. The master minds who conceived and promoted this monstrous conspiracy

with cool and deliberate intent remain as yet untouched. The man who, more than any other, must bear responsibility for the creation and promotion of the "Christian" Front, together with several of his clerical collaborators, has been hiding his subversive aims behind his vestments, and exploiting his position in the Catholic Church to attain his un-Christian ends.

Inasmuch as the credibility of the allegations made in our October Open Letter on the "Christian" Front is a vital factor in the evaluation of its import, we deem it appropriate to examine its contents in the light of the F.B.I. disclosures:

1. In that Letter, we noted with special reference to New York the growth of a movement calling itself the "Christian" Front that threatened the peace and safety of the community. We predicted that this movement, if permitted to develop unchecked, would "eventually culminate in violent bloody rioting such as the city has never known." Supporting our charges with documentary proof, we described the "Christian" Front as a semi-military body assuming the double role of enlisting individual members and serving as a coordinating center for various Fascist, Nazi and anti-Semitic groups. Completely undemocratic in makeup, based on the "fuehrer" principle, its members are pledged to blind obedience to their leaders, who cultivate militaristic poses like Hitler and Mussolini and who receive the Nazi salute from their followers. The entire tendency of the organization, we wrote:

is toward the building up of a secret army, ostensibly to combat the menace of Communism. Members are required to join "sports clubs" within the "Christian" Front for the avowed purpose of receiving military training. . . . The leaders stress the immediate need of a "counter-revolution" to be fought in "the Franco way."

The inspiration for this constantly iterated slogan, we pointed out, was given in Father Coughlin's radio speech of July 30, 1939, when the priest shouted: "We will fight you in Franco's way, if necessary! Call this inflammatory, if you will. It is inflammatory." In our Letter, we related at some length the hate-inciting campaigns of the "Christian" Front, all pointed ultimately toward an armed uprising, which was considered inevitable by the "Christian" Front leaders.

THE COUGHLIN LIE

(N. Y. Herald-Tribune, Jan. 15, 1940)

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Coughlin Says He 'Disavowed' Christian Front

Voices Hope Hoover Will 'Substantiate' Charges of Conspiracy by Members

DETROIT, Jan. 14 (AP).—The Rev. Charles E. Coughlin declared tonight he had "roundly disavowed" the "Christian Front," eighteen members of which have been arrested on revolution conspiracy charges, and he expressed the hope that J. Edgar Hoover would "substantiate every contention made."

Father Coughlin, who said he had advocated "a Christian front" to combat Nazism and Communism, but never had supported the "specific" Christian Front involved in the conspiracy charges, asserted he had once refused a contribution of money from the latter group. He said he had advocated organization of "a real Christian front to oppose these fakers."

"I certainly hope," he said, "that Mr. Hoover will pursue the thing and substantiate every contention made. I also hope that he will not be satisfied with this, but also will pursue those non-Christian fronts which have been advocating Communism and plotting the overthrow of all governments."

The priest charged that "this so-called Christian Front" was of Communist or Bundist origin, organized "along their policies of boring from within to embarrass the real Christians of this nation."

"For some time," Father Coughlin said, "they have been praising me, holding meetings in my name, and pretending to collect money for my support. . . . I have roundly disavowed them."

"Moreover, following Oct. 25 of last year, they sent me a check of some \$1,000 which I returned to them in a public manner, telling them that I would not accept such kind of money and advising my followers to have nothing to do with such organizations."

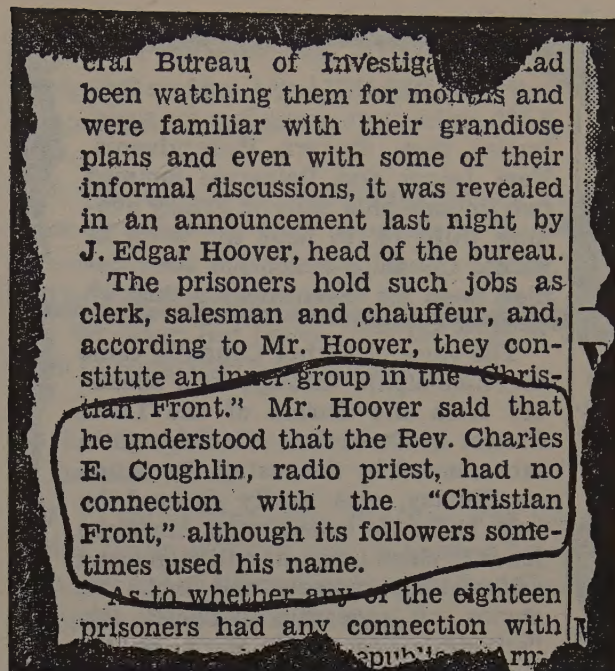
Coughlin Asks Industry

What the F.B.I. Disclosed

Now let us summarize at this point the details of the "Christian" Front conspiracy made public by Department of Justice agents at the time this is written. On January 14 seventeen members of the "Christian" Front were placed under federal arrest in New York on charges of "conspiracy to overthrow, put down and destroy by force the government of the United States; conspiracy to oppose by force the authority thereof, and conspiracy to seize, take and possess the property of the United States."

Among the arrested men was John F. Cassidy, erroneously referred to only as head of the Brooklyn branch of the "Christian" Front, but in reality national president of the organization. All were members of the "sports clubs," the military arm of the "Christian" Front, engaged in secret military training, in making bombs, in stealing ammunition and rifles from National Guard armories and storing them in secret arsenals for the day of insurrection. The ultimate object of the group, according to F.B.I. Chief J. Edgar Hoover, was to overthrow the United States and to establish a dictatorship on the Hitler model. The details of the plot included complete eradication of the Jews, the assassination of fourteen members of Congress, the wrecking of Jewish, Communist, and liberal printing plants and offices, the bombing of the Brooklyn and Philadelphia Navy Yards, and of West Point and Annapolis, and the seizure of Federal Reserve Banks, National Guard armories, the United States Customs House, railway terminals and key post offices, and all utilities facilities. Fantastic though this procedure appears in summary, it represents in essence a well-planned pattern of revolt successfully carried out by Hitler in Germany. To realize the full significance of the plot, it must constantly be borne in mind that it was not limited to seventeen individuals, but that the latter were but a fraction of a widely-organized movement extending to a number of other cities.

As repeatedly emphasized in our journal, anti-Semitism was not the primary purpose of the "Christian" Front, but was used as it had been by the Nazis, as a spearhead of conspiracy against the existing government. One of the initial steps in the fascist revolt planned by the "Christian" Front, according to federal agents, was the organization of anti-Jewish riots and demonstrations. Federal agents revealed that January 20, 1940, was set as the date for a terroristic demonstration of some kind, though its exact nature was not disclosed. The leaders intended to create a reign of terror resulting in the calling out of troops, which would in turn fan the flames of anti-Semitism.



(N. Y. Herald Tribune, Jan. 15, 1940)

Did the F. B. I. chief feel Father Coughlin was too big to touch? Public opinion was quick to demand that action go beyond "small fry" to the fountain-heads of anti-Semitic terrorism.

This turmoil, they hoped, would lead to a state of anarchy and demoralization, and would pave the way for the final seizure of power. *Mein Kampf* was undoubtedly used as a textbook for the study of this strategy of insurrection.

As United States Attorney Harold M. Kennedy asserted:

The use of an anti-Semitic organization is just a smoke screen. The basic scheme was to build up a military organization. Members of the movement were to be drafted from the various "hate organizations." They planned to create confusion and panic and have the army move in.

2. Our Letter further stated that "Christian" Front members are continually warned of "the need of equipping themselves with firearms in preparation for 'der Tag'."

Federal agents found several "Christian" Front arsenals containing bombs, cordite, rifles, machine gun and other ammunition, powder and dynamite.

"A perfect *entente cordiale* exists between the Nazi, Fascistic and anti-Semitic groups gathered together in this Unholy Alliance masquerading under the emblem of 'Christian' Front," we continued. It is significant that among the seventeen men initially rounded up by federal agents, one was known as an

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—More than 8,500 enthusiastic crusaders for social justice from Eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware jammed two Philadelphia halls on Friday evening, July 14, to hear the voice of Father Coughlin which has been denied them for seven months through

The voice of Father Coughlin came to Philadelphia through loud speakers from the Shrine of the Little Flower in Royal Oak. His message to labor, heard by the rest of the nation on Sunday, was loudly cheered by both halls. He called upon American labor to clean house of politicians and self-seeking radicals and make its choice of leadership between the "atheistic Jew Karl Marx or the Christian Jew, Jesus Christ."

Father Coughlin praised the heroism and zeal of the Christian Front in those areas where its work has already borne fruit, and urged Philadelphians to emulate their Christianity and Americanism.

Effusive cheers and applause followed his address.

Before the voice of Father Coughlin was heard from Royal Oak, speakers included Judge John A. Matthews of Newark, N. J., Lieut. Bernard T. D'Arcy, chief of the SOCIAL JUSTICE forces in the New York area, and Leo F. Reardon, business manager of SOCIAL JUSTICE. Lieut. D'Arcy told how New York had sextupled the circulation of SOCIAL JUSTICE in five months and paid tribute to the assistance of the powerfully organized Christian Front in Brooklyn, New York City, Queens and the Bronx.

Sketching the formation and growth of the Christian Front, Mr. John Cassidy of New York, head of the organization, pointed out that units of the organization are now in formation in several cities of the eastern seaboard. He announced his desire to extend to David Scannell, chief distributor in Philadelphia, the same co-operation his great organization has given to SOCIAL JUSTICE in New York City.

"And God bless Mr. Cassidy and the Christian Front!" concluded Coughlin's telephone broadcast on this occasion. Social Justice, July 24, 1939, praises the work the boys are doing.

active Nazi propagandist and another as a member of the German-American Bund.

Our October Letter described many instances of this close alliance, and we shall not repeat them here. Utterly unprincipled and opportunistic, the Frontists have made use of a number of names of paper organizations, to be used as expedience dictated. When the present war broke out, they quickly transformed their mass meetings into "Keep America Out of War" rallies, playing upon the deep peace sentiment of the American people, while plotting a civil war at home. For an analysis of the motivation of this campaign, we refer our readers to the statement, "Father Coughlin Streamlines for War," on pages 30 and 31 of the present issue.

Reporting on private military groups formed against the supposed "red threat," *Social Justice* of December 25, 1939, states that "in Worcester and Springfield [Mass.] plans are under way for the organization of riflemen's groups in units of 100 men each." Secret rifle practice and other types of military training by the Philadelphia unit of the "Christian" Front are now under investigation.

Francis P. Moran, fuehrer of the Boston unit of the "Christian" Front, whose meetings Coughlin has addressed by piped-in telephone, and at which Coughlin's closest collaborators have been featured speakers, has made incitements to violence as frequently and as openly as John F. Cassidy. It was Moran's violent attack on the United States government and on the Jews at a Coughlinite meeting in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, that shocked State Supreme Court Justice Francis Condon, who had been inveigled into attending the meeting under false pretenses, to issue a scathing repudiation of Moran to the press. A fellow-speaker of Moran's on that occasion—Father Edward Lodge Curran, Coughlin's "Man Friday"—was also denounced by Judge Condon as resorting to "unfounded charges."

It is a mistake to believe that the secret military operations of the "sports clubs" in New York and elsewhere went on without the knowledge of the other members of the "Christian" Front. The nature of these activities was openly discussed at regular "Christian" Front meetings, attended by all members, although non-members were rigorously excluded.

3. We wrote, in our Open Letter, that

Intense recruiting drives for the "Christian" Front are carried on among New York City policemen and in the National Guard. The 69th Infantry Regiment—"the Fighting Irish"—is a special concentration point for recruiting.

Of the seventeen arrested "Christian" Fronters, at least five are or have been members of the armed forces of this country. Three are members of the "Fighting 69th," that famous outfit of Irish Catholics so rich in heroic tradition. One of these three is a captain, relieved of his command following his arrest. The other two are sergeants. They disgrace the splendid tradition of the Fighting Irish. The extent of the "Christian" Front's success in gaining recruits from this and other National Guard units has not yet been established. A thorough investigation into the situation has been ordered by Major-General Haskell, head of the New York state militia. Alleged deprecations of National Guard armories by "Christian" Front members are also being investigated.

At least one member of the "Christian" Front on the New York police force has been named—Lieutenant Thomas Cavanaugh, who has been suspended under charges of complicity in the Brooklyn bail and bond racket case. According to Police Commissioner Valentine, Lieutenant Cavanaugh tried to induce policemen under his command to join up with the

"Christian" Front. Non-official investigators have turned over evidence to the Police Department indicating that at least forty policemen are members of this terroristic organization.

4. We charged that "incitements to terror and violence are frequently made, especially by the national president of the organization, John F. Cassidy."

The facts disclosed by the F.B.I. show that Cassidy and the others had passed from the stage of incitement to preparation for immediate action.

Father Coughlin, Promoter of the "Christian" Front

5. In our October Letter we stated, with reference to the "Christian" Front, that "its fountain-head, chief organizer and undisputed leader is the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin of Royal Oak, Michigan."

These assertions were supported by documented details. To these we can now add further proof.

Following the revelations and arrests involving the

The collage consists of three overlapping items:

- Top Left:** A newspaper clipping from "Social Justice" dated July 31, 1938. The headline reads "CHRISTIAN FRONT CARRIES FIGHT INTO MORE STATES". Below the headline is a portrait of Edward Lodge Curran, with the caption "DR. EDWARD LODGE CURRAN, PRESIDENT INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN FRONT". To the right of the portrait is the text "EDWARD LODGE CURRAN REPLIES TO ROOSEVELT ON SUNDAY BRO...".
- Top Right:** A membership application form for the "CHRISTIAN FRONT". It includes fields for name, address, and a section for "Dear Sirs" with a pre-filled letter asking for membership. The form is signed by "John Cassidy" and "John Cassidy, Secretary-Treasurer".
- Bottom:** A newspaper clipping with the headline "G-MEN NAB 18 HERE IN PLOT TO SET UP U.S. DICTATORSHIP". It mentions "Front Communist Coughlin Retorts" and "Hold Coughlin Is Inspiring".

THREE C's of "Christian" Front: Coughlin, Curran, and Cassidy are so linked in publicity that the radio priest was on untenable ground in "disowning" the defendants as reds. Cassidy and Curran were very close.

Christian" Front organization in New York, Father Coughlin saw fit to issue a hasty repudiation of any connection with the organization.* That statement contained certain untruths, as will be shown. On previous occasions Father Coughlin has not hesitated to stoop to downright lies, and we consider it no reflection on the Church whose sacred vestments he disgraces to brand him personally as a hypocritical liar.

The evidence in Father Coughlin's radio speeches and in Father Coughlin's organ, *Social Justice*, belie his claim of purity.

Upon Coughlin rests the major responsibility for the creation, encouragement, and promotion of the terroristic society known as the "Christian" Front. In *Social Justice* of May 23, 1938, he exhorted his followers to organize on the "platoon" system, giving them detailed directions, and in his "Message to Platoons" in the June 13, 1938, issue, he flatly declared, "You and your group are directly affiliated to me." In his radio broadcast on November 6, 1938—the first after his "permanent" retirement from the air in 1936—Father Coughlin told his followers: "It is necessary for us to solidify and strengthen a virile, closely woven Christian Front."

This declaration provided the clarion call for the formation of "Christian" Front units in various cities. The New York unit, under the leadership of John F. Cassidy, was the first to get under way.

On July 14, 1939, Father Coughlin made an address via telephone to two mass meetings assembled in Philadelphia under "Social Justice Distributors" auspices. Reporting this meeting in its issue of July 24, *Social Justice* said:

More than 8,500 enthusiastic crusaders for social justice jammed two Philadelphia halls to hear the voice of Father Coughlin. . . . Father Coughlin praised the heroism and zeal of the Christian Front in those areas where its work had already borne fruit. . . . Sketching the formation and growth of the Christian Front, Mr. John Cassidy of New York, head of the organization, pointed out that units of the organization are now in formation in several cities of the eastern seaboard.

*On January 21, smoked out by the facts of the printed record, Father Coughlin saw fit to disavow his disavowal with a broadcast statement that he did not "dissociate" himself from the "Christian" Front movement. He continued to obscure his connection with the "specific" Christian Front headed by John F. Cassidy, chief of the Brooklyn defendants, whom he had publicly blessed and praised. Struggling to shift the issue away from an embarrassing subject, Father Coughlin alluded to hypothetical "borers from within," employed the familiar red herring technique, and distorted the pronunciation of a Jewish magistrate's name in a mincing fashion.

Simultaneously, the *Commonweal*, a Catholic journal, commenting on the Brooklyn defendants, stated: "Father Coughlin, the Brooklyn *Tablet*, *Social Justice* and their many abettors and sympathizers must bear the direct responsibility for the plight of these seventeen young men," while Attorney-General Robert H. Jackson called for an investigation of co-conspirators "wherever located." *Equality* is submitting the facts in this article to the Attorney-General with a plea to proceed vigorously to investigate Father Coughlin.

Other speakers at the Philadelphia meetings included Leo F. Reardon, business manager of *Social Justice*, and Bernard T. D'Arcy, identified in the aforementioned article as "chief of the *Social Justice* forces in the New York area." D'Arcy, according to the article, "told how New York had sextupled the circulation of *Social Justice* in five months and paid tribute to the assistance of the powerfully organized Christian Front in Brooklyn, New York City, Queens and the Bronx."

Father Coughlin's concluding words on this occasion were: "And God bless Mr. Cassidy and the Christian Front!"

In his radio broadcast of July 30, 1939, Father Coughlin addressed himself directly to the "Christian" Front. In introducing him, his announcer explained:

Today's discourse sounds a call to action. Following 1936, Father Coughlin retired from all active organization; today, he is encouraging the growth of the Christian Front, not that it is his organization, but that he speaks to its promoters a word of encouragement and advice.

In this discourse Father Coughlin boasted that "the Christian Front is no longer a dream. It is a reality that grows stronger, more courageous and more determined." Praising the principles of the organization, he said: "The Christian Front is not a debating society; it is an action society," and spoke of the possible need of acting "the Franco way" in this country.

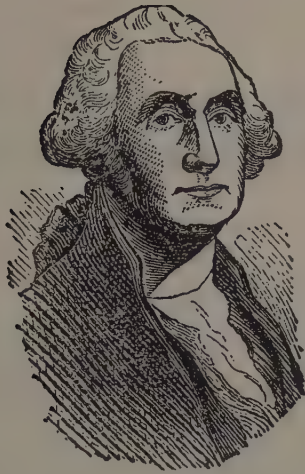
"CHRISTIAN FRONT CARRIES FIGHT INTO MORE STATES." This was the banner headline on the cover page of *Social Justice* of July 31, 1939. Heading the story itself were the sub-titles: "Units of Militant Christian Front Are Being Formed in Middlewest: Hosts Battle Communism in New York; National Movement Growing from Patriotic Action of 36 Christian Men in Brooklyn." Describing the formation of the "Christian" Front in New York under John F. Cassidy, the article predicts a membership of 5,000,000 in 1940 and adds:

Organized along militant lines, as a defense mechanism against Red activities and as a protector of Christianity and Americanism, the Christian Front is spreading from Greater New York into Philadelphia, Boston and other Eastern centers. Invasion of Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, Chicago and other key cities of the Middle West will begin in August.

In an article in the same issue, it is stated that "the most reviled 'ism' in New York today, after Nazism and Fascism, is 'Americanism,'" and that "The brave patriots of the Christian Front have their work cut out

(Continued on page 27)

FOR RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE



by George Washington

AS mankind becomes more liberal, they will be more able to allow that those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community are equally entitled to the protection of civil government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality.—*In a message to Catholics, 1789.*

The liberty enjoyed by the people of these States of worshipping Almighty God, agreeably to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their *blessings*, but also of their *rights*. While men perform their social duties faithfully, they do all that society or the state can with propriety demand or expect and remain responsible to their Maker for the religion or modes of faith which they may prefer or profess.—*In a message to Quakers, 1789.*

The citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy—a policy worthy of imitation. All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now no more that toleration is spoken of as if it was by the indulgence of one class of the people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that those who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.—*To the Jewish Congregation of Newport, 1789.*

by Abraham Lincoln

LET us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man, this race and that race and the other race being inferior, and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position. Let us discard all these things, and unite as one people throughout this land, until we shall once more stand up by declaring that all men are created equal.—*Address at Chicago, July 10, 1858.*

In regard to the Germans and foreigners, I esteem them no better than other people, nor any worse. It is not nature, when I see a people borne down by the weight of their shackles—the oppression of tyranny—to make their life more bitter by heaping upon them greater burdens; but rather would I do all in my power to raise the yoke than to add anything that would tend to crush them.—*Address to Germans at Cincinnati, February 12, 1861.*

The assertion that “all men are created equal” was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain; and it was placed in the Declaration not for that, but for future use. Its authors meant it to be—as, thank God, it is now proving itself—a stumbling-block to all those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism. They knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants, and they meant when such should reappear in this fair land and commence their vocation, they should find left for them at least one hard nut to crack.—*Address in Springfield, Ill., June 26, 1857.*

WAR VERSUS CIVIL LIBERTIES

by Judge John Gutknecht

Civil Liberties Are America's Sinews of Life;
If War Comes, We May Never Enjoy Them Again

THE American people have been firm in their basic attachment to what they understand as civil liberties. Many of them would find it difficult to define them; many would not be able to find them in state and federal constitutions; many would not recognize the full value of some of them when pointed out, because of their wording; but, basically, they believe, and believe rightly, that these civil liberties guarantee:

- Freedom of speech
- Freedom of press
- Freedom of religion
- Free schools, and

Equality before the law, with special privilege to none, and no discrimination on racial, religious, or economic grounds.

Firm for Neutrality

The American citizen believes firmly in neutrality today. He is inconsistent, as are all humans, and his consistency as to strict neutrality may waver, but he is not in favor of America again going to war in Europe, if practically possible to stay out.

It is not mere selfishness, at least not all. It is not mere pacifism—at least not as to the vast majority. It is not past experience—though that enters into it in a great degree. It is part reason; it is part instinct.

The average American realizes that war means death to the civil liberties of the citizen. He is not radical; in fact, he is afraid of that term. He likes the word "progressive" and the word "liberalism." They both are American words. They describe the American experiment as a protest against the reactionary social and political system of the old world in the centuries of our national beginning. And so he takes pride in that historical tradition, and periodically he will shake off his political inertia and rally to that cry of liberalism—Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Wilson, and the Roosevelts. The mass movements in the history of American politics and government have gone forward under the banner of liberalism.

Democracy Means Peace

That means to the American citizen the renewal of the struggle to maintain his civil liberties. These civil liberties are not to him mere abstract rights. They are conditions under which he wants to live; they represent to him free expression, free religion, schooling for his children, equality before the law, and a right to protect and to control his government. His ultimate aim, of course, is bread, home, education for his children, social security, and some leisure. He recognizes that only under the protection of his civil rights will he be able to continue to mold his government to conform to his desires. Give him the choice clearly and there will be no hesitation in his response. That is why here in this vast city of Chicago, with hundred of thousands of German-born and descendants of German-born, the Nazi sentiment is negligible. Some timid politicians feared it, but the fears proved groundless. That is why in the vast city of New York, with hundreds of thousands of Italian-born, and despite the suave arts of propagandists, the Fascist influence is limited to certain select circles where the seduction of a court presentation or a bit of official ribbon can overcome traditions of democracy.

Beware of Hysteria

The attachment of the American citizen to his civil liberties is sound. But the world today is confusing and complex. War abroad brings fear of war at home. The very devotion to the American tradition of civil liberties creates that very tenseness of apprehension that may endanger them. The mother who cherishes her child, in moments of frantic danger has been known to smother it. To protect these sacred rights we may destroy them by the guards we set around them. Prophets may arise—some sincere but unseeing, some false but persuasive—who may, though mouthing the word, destroy the spirit. A Dies committee may be established to ferret out doctrines and

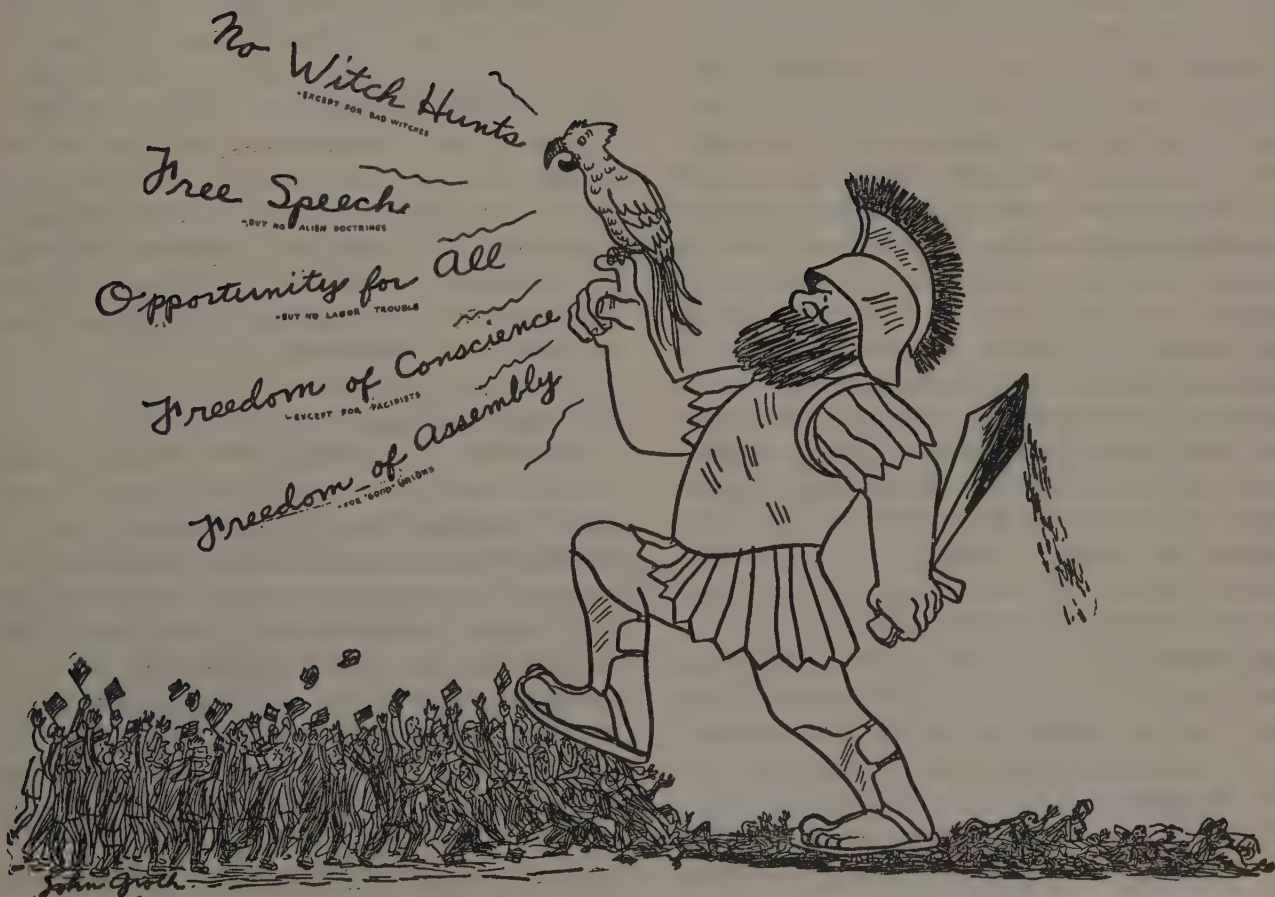
practices subversive of American principles, and it may utterly ignore and violate those very civil rights it was established to protect. New York may see a LaGuardia replaced by a Lusk committee, and Washington may see a Frank Murphy give way to a Palmer, though Murphy for the first time in history set up a civil liberties subdivision in his department. The wheel of fate might throw us back to the days twenty years ago, when a national witch hunt was carried on in the name of patriotism. And such a witch hunt today, from clues already in the wind, while it might proceed in the name of safeguarding American traditions, would have in its heart the aim of defeating the social legislation that this past decade has placed on the statute books.

To be able to keep his head in this modern, complex world, with economic problems at home and threats of war from abroad, is asking much of the American citizen. To help him, the liberal—trained

in his country's traditions—must give of his best: his courage, as well as his brain. And that is required in times of peace. In times of war, there is no hope.

A Warning

War is death to liberalism. War is the negation of civil liberties. Our adult generation saw a victorious war, fought by a nation rich and prosperous. It took nearly two decades and a depression to bring a revival of liberalism. No man now living is apt to see another such revival if war should come to us again. Does any one expect to see England and France, as we know them today, survive this war, even if successful? The last war made tremendous social changes. The present one will do more. The "black country" of England still bears the marks of the last war in the anemic children who are being born today. No one in America can forecast the changes we may undergo if war comes.



ALL NECKS OR NONE by Maurice Goodenough

Never Forget Anti-Semitism Is Part of a Larger Anti-Democratic Movement

THOUSANDS of Americans realize the possibility that America might become a Fascist country. By far the vast majority of these people believe in democracy and are frankly worried by the prospect of anything else. Among them are many who give a great deal of their time and energy, some who give all, so that it can't happen here. Much of this time and energy is wasted, and worse too, much goes to serve the interests of those who seek to rule America by storm troop methods.

In the January issue of *Equality*, David Karr reporting on the Un-American Dies "Mass Meeting for America" held in Madison Square Garden, New York, in November, writes: "One bizarre note at the meeting was the presence of Jean Mathias, New York State Commander of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States. He also spoke. It was indeed strange to see a Jew in the company of people who had beligerently and coarsely declared themselves the enemies of his people."

Bizarre as it may have appeared to see this champion of Jewish rights on the same platform with leading anti-Semites, it becomes pathetic, even tragic, when one knows the circumstances that brought Mr. Mathias into this company. If he had been duped into supporting the meeting, had been unaware of the subversive activities of those sponsoring it, or the real purpose for which it was being held, we could easily forgive him. This was not the case, however. Mr. Mathias, if he had been ignorant beforehand, was tipped off at least four days before the Dies meeting was held. Friends urged him not to make an appearance and to use his opportunity to reveal the true colors of those behind Martin Dies and the "Mass Meeting for America." When Jean Mathias stood on the platform in Madison Square Garden, linking his name with Merwyn K. Hart, George U. Harvey, Captain John B. Trevor, Martin Dies, and John B. Snow, he did so with full knowledge that he was being used as a smokescreen for a movement designed to destroy him, his people, and every trace of American freedom.

We should not conclude from this that Mr. Mathias is in complete sympathy with the aims of these super-

witch-hunters—certainly not the concentration camps they will build for him should they once get into power—but aside from that it seems that he has few objections. He seems to think that he will avoid their concentration camps by proving that Jews and Communists are not one and the same.

Unfortunately they know this every bit as well as Mr. Mathias does. They're not suckers for their own propaganda. A year and a half ago when the "Christian" Committee Against Communism, the mother of the "Christian" Front organizations, began holding its first street meetings in Brooklyn, hurling Jew-baiting oaths at bewildered residents of Flatbush, Mr. Mathias came to the rescue with a solution. He came to one of their meetings with a large body of his War Veterans and offered a deal. If John F. Cassidy, Brooklyn's rabble-rousing Jew-baiter unsurpassed, would drop anti-Semitism and talk against Hitler, Mr. Mathias would cooperate. Cassidy refused.

In Mr. Mathias we have a man who, although he doesn't realize it, is bringing rope to his own lynching. He thinks he can save his own neck from the ax by substituting another neck in its place. It can't be done. It will either be all necks or none. The story of Mr. Mathias, although discouraging, is in itself not of great importance. I mention it because it represents clearly the tactics used by many individuals and organizations who sense the enemy but can't see through his smokescreen.

Understanding Needed

If we are to win the battle for democracy, we must first know what democracy is. We must also gain a better understanding of the forces which oppose it. Lack of this understanding, and resultant disunity, is today our most dangerous enemy. We must view the "Christian" Front and other Fascist organizations against a social and economic background. We must examine their propaganda and activities, understand their relationship to other groups. We must learn to make clear distinctions between their avowed and their real aims, or in other words, between their propaganda and the ends they intend to accomplish by it.

Because of anti-Semitism and pro-Nazi sympathies

these organizations are identified with Adolf Hitler's Third Reich, but in reality their roots are much nearer home. They received inspiration from abroad, but two domestic factors enabled them to take hold. First, they promote the selfish interests of the few Americans who no longer trust a representative form of government. Second, they found fertile soil in which to grow in the desperation, insecurity, and ignorance of a depression-ridden population ready to grasp at any straw.

To pave the way for the final victory of fascism all the groups, organizations, and individuals who can exist only in a democracy must be eliminated or rendered ineffective. These groups are trade unions, progressive social action bodies and political groups, and public officials and individuals who influence liberal public opinion. The "Christian" Front organizations represent only one gun of the artillery which has been turned loose upon these groups in society. If this attack is successful, America will be the tomb of democracy. The propaganda for this attack is tailor-made to coincide with the prejudices of those who are to consume it. It covers a wide range, but produces the same result, disunity among the American people. It first strikes at those groups and individuals which are most open to attack, and are least able to defend themselves. From these the attack spreads to others until it engulfs them all.

Anti-Semitism a Means Not an End

The propaganda technique consists in developing hate symbols and attaching them to the groups and individuals to be eliminated, the progressive elements in society. The "Christian" Front taught its followers to fly into a blind rage when they saw or heard the word communism. Because anti-Semitism already existed to some degree they linked the two words, Jew and Communist, until they meant one and the same to the "Christian" Front membership and those influenced by them. These names were then pinned on individuals and organizations which stood in their way. You hear the "Christian" Front orators shouting about "President Rosenfeld and his Jew Deal." Mayor LaGuardia is dubbed "the little red stinkweed in City Hall." A hundred or more of America's labor, civic, and national leaders come in for their share of abuse, always being called Jew Communists. This technique has been successful in rallying that section of the population for whom it was designed. Last August a "Christian" Mobilizer meeting in the Bronx at which nothing but anti-Semitism was preached resulted in an attack upon a police station and the assault

of several Irish Catholic policemen. This illustrates in miniature what they intend to accomplish some day on a national scale.

In a different form, stripped of its anti-Semitism, the same technique is being used to rally thousands to support the campaign. The propaganda is more subtle, but the consequences are just as deadly. The Dies Committee, and those supporting it, are an example of this. We were not at all surprised to find Dies in close cooperation and sympathy with the anti-Semites.

A Word About Democracy

Many organizations exist to promote and defend democracy, but they have varied opinions regarding what should be defended and promoted. Members within these organizations disagree among themselves. To some, democracy is the Bill of Rights printed in the back of every American history book. It would be far better if the Bill of Rights, instead of being in the history books, were in the hearts and habits of the American people. I know many who give lip service to the Bill of Rights but will not make one move to defend freedom of speech, other than their own. There are other people to whom democracy means a representative form of government, and to still others it is their right to control other people's lives.

When America became a nation it established what was called a democratic form of government. This government, however, permitted thousands of Negroes to live in slavery. Did those Negroes live under democracy? Changes have brought more and more democracy to the people of America: freeing the slaves, women suffrage, workmen's compensation, wage-and-hour laws.

Democracy is not a static set of circumstances. Democracy is relative, conditioned by all the things which affect the freedom of all people. Freedom is freedom of choice, and without choice there is no freedom. The freedom of people to choose their representatives and to express their choice in matters of public policy is essential to democracy. Just as essential, if not more so, is their freedom to choose whether or not they want to eat. As I write there are 16,000 hungry people in Cleveland who, I am sure, would choose to eat if they were free to do so. When people are deprived of their freedom of choice in matters of the simple necessities of life there is practically no freedom left. Our President once spoke about one third of a nation. This one third is still with us, and they too must be given their freedom.

SLANDERING THE NEGRO:

an Old Un-American Custom

Four Million Dollars Worth of Wind • Albert Maltz

WHEN the technicolor has faded, and the drama has been boiled down, *Gone With the Wind* sums itself up into this and nothing else: a Bourbon's history of the Civil War, a slaver's version of his own "tragic" defeat. The story is contrived so as to capture sympathy for the heroic, cultured slave-owners who were ruined by that buzzard Sherman and blasted out of existence by that Yankee marauder Abe Lincoln. The story is definitely not told to show what these heroic land-owners were really fighting for—that they were fighting to maintain the most unholy, the most evil, the most brutalized system of society man has known! No, the stench of slavery does not intrude into the glamorous portrait of the O'Hara's, and the sweat and pain of four million human beings, bought and sold like cattle, whipped, exploited, and kept in bondage *by force of arms only*, does not intrude to spoil the rosy technicolor of this David Selznick super-epic. But despite the fine acting, the fine direction, the theatrical excitement, it remains what it is at the core, the story of Judas wrapped in pink cellophane, the heartbreak of Judas stirringly told—but *with the crucifixion of Jesus very carefully omitted*.

Poor Abe Lincoln must be uneasy in his grave these days! We shudder to think of the mighty strong language he will use if he ever meets up with David Selznick. Because the sins of *Gone With the Wind*—and they are sins and nothing less—are not only those of omission. They reside in the picture by deliberate, premeditated commission as well. This is no case where the producer or anyone else can plead ignorance. We may be sure that every last detail of the costumes of the period was investigated, checked and rechecked. There are no errors there. It is merely history that Hollywood has not bothered to verify. And let no one plead in extenuation that a film cannot tell everything, that a story cannot be history. No one condemns *Gone With the Wind* because it does not tell the "whole" story of the Civil War. We must

condemn it because it tells a certain kind of history, a phony history, because every premise of the film and the totality of its impressions make for untruth, slander, and perversion from the first moment to the last.

All of history could be rewritten this way. We could tell the tragic story of Marie Antoinette with the enslaved peasants of France as the mass villain. We could concoct a fine film about the American Revolution in which we wept to see Tories driven from their homes, as they were; to see how the coarse soldiers of that brigand George Washington broke the heart of that gentleman and scholar, Cornwallis, as they did. Of course the people on the wrong side of history suffer! Of course the Southern aristocrats suffered when they were wounded, and suffered like nobody's business when they could no longer maintain themselves by the enslavement of other human beings. But to dramatize these sufferings without reference to cause and effect, to make the slaver a tragic hero and the liberator of slaves a villain, that does not make a historical film, it makes a historical lie!

Nowhere is this more revealing than in the handling of the Negro characters in the film. The slaves are shown as of one of two kinds: either faithful retainers who love nothing better than their state of slavery, or else as comic and hysterical, moronic and "simple as a child." What is the truth? The truth is that the attractive Southern aristocrats who are the main characters of *Gone With the Wind* lost their fight because their own Negro slaves fought tooth and nail with the Union armies throughout the Civil War! From its beginnings, slavery in our country was maintained only by the use of repressive law, by the whip, the shackle, the gun. And when the war came every Union general had two fists—his own soldiers and the slaves behind the Confederate lines. By 1862 the state of North Carolina was losing one million dollars worth of slaves every week. Where were these "docile, slavery-loving, comic" slaves going? They were going

(Continued on page 33)

THE most flagrant distortion of American history is found in the treatment historians accord the Negro. Such a many-sided and continuous libeling of a people who make up part of the nation is scarcely paralleled even by the anti-Jewish propaganda of the Nazi. In fact, the pattern has been retraced and "documented" by so many writers that today the Negro-according-to-stereotype is unwittingly accepted as true even by many of the fair-minded.

Studies of racial attitudes in American history textbooks show that the Negro is generally depicted as a docile slave, sleek, fat, and strumming a banjo. During the Reconstruction period he is described as an ignorant, shiftless vagrant or a politician easily led into corruption. As a free man, seldom have his activities been deemed worthy of note.

Such a portrayal is a caricature. It is history-as-written, not history-as-actuality. Invariably Negroes who participated in the discovery and exploration of America are omitted from the history books. Little Steven who trooped across the southeastern part of the country with Cabeza de Vaca and himself discovered the "Seven Cities of Cibola" in the Southwest, and Jean Point Du Sable, founder and first permanent resident of Chicago, are never mentioned. These same books, however, tell of the Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, French, Dutch, and English, who opened up the New World.

In the tradition of moonlight and magnolia much is made of the happy slaves while little or nothing is said of the *unhappy* slaves: those who committed suicide, ran away, assaulted or poisoned their masters, and planned the insurrections. Whenever leaders of revolts are considered, they are set down as mad murderers—not as heroes striking for freedom. More than two-thirds of the history texts describe the abolitionists as crackpot reformers, while many of these same books defend the Ku Klux Klan as necessary in "rescuing" the Southern governments from the "superstitious" freedmen and their allies.

The whole story of achievement by the Negro since the Civil War, his progress in education, medicine, and the development of social institutions, is often reduced to a single paragraph. There is not one textbook which relates the record of the Negro author—a record extending from Phillis Wheatley to the late James Weldon Johnson.

Who is to blame for this stifling racial bias with which American history has been written? Generally speaking this guilt—for such it is—must rest upon



A RACE:
TEXTBOOK AND SCREEN VERSION

Drawings by Maurice Rawson

the whole fraternity of historians. Specifically, a great deal of it—at least in recent times—may be traced to the doors of Columbia University. It was here that the seminars of John W. Burgess and William Archibald Dunning welcomed so many of those Southern-born students who were to write sixteen monograph studies of Reconstruction. These studies set the pattern: The poor, dear South was wronged; the granting of the franchise to the "ignorant" Negroes was a travesty against political science and civilization. Such a conclusion was easy in the classroom of a man like Professor Burgess who believed that "a black skin means membership in a race of men which has never of itself succeeded in subjecting passion to reason; has never, therefore, created any civilization of any kind."

Another Columbia Ph. D., U. B. Phillips, because of his vast research and clever literary style, became the leading authority on the plantation and slavery. Phillips loved and protected the ante-bellum South so successfully that when Frederic Bancroft attempted to get his more realistic and profoundly scholarly work on the domestic slave trade issued, he was able to secure only an obscure publisher. If Columbia has been the leader, nearly all of the great institutions of the North and East have contributed to the propaganda against the Negro. Today, the Southern colleges are taking the lead.

In fairness to the white historians, it must be admitted that in many cases their racial bias has not been deliberate and conscious. Their attitudes have been largely the reflections of the race chauvinism and indifference which permeate a large section of American thought-life. But what excuse can be given for ignoring the work of Negro historians such as Carter G. Woodson, W. E. B. DuBois, A. A. Taylor, and Charles Wesley? Despite the fact that all of these men are Harvard Ph.D's and stand upon an unimpeachable scholarship, their work has never been granted the recognition which has been given to other scholars contributing a new point of view for American history. Scientifically viewed the work of these men bears a relation to the reinterpretation of American history parallel to that furnished by the studies of Frederick Jackson Turner on the West.

As a matter of truth, in every period from the American Revolution to the present day, the Negro has served as a test of the democratic idea. Moreover, Negroes themselves saw this and clearly pointed it out. For example, during the first war with England, Negroes were among the first to step forward

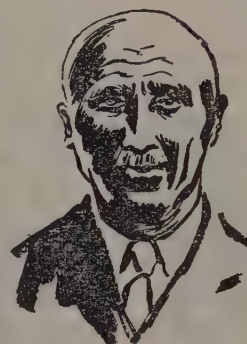
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Frederick Douglass



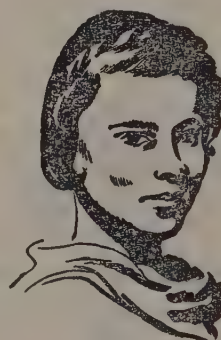
Harriet Tubman



Dr. George Washington Carver



Booker T. Washington



Marion Anderson



Walter White



Paul Robeson



Langston Hughes

A RACE:
WELLSPRING OF GREAT AMERICANS

MR. YOUTH GOES TO WASHINGTON by Jack R. McMichael

Apathy of Elders Irks Young America; Delegates Will Seek Ways to Ensure Democracy, Peace, and Livelihood.

A GENERATION of twenty-one million, five million of them unemployed and out of school—young America between the ages of 16 and 25—read in the papers that President Roosevelt has suggested reductions in expenditures for the National Youth Administration, the C. C. C., W. P. A. and P. W. A., the Public Health Service, the Office of Education.

Representatives of young America—gathered together in the American Youth Congress—meet, discuss the drastic nature of the situation, decide to act. So *Mr. Youth goes to Washington*.

From February 9 to 12, thousands of young people from farms and factories, schools, colleges, churches, and settlement houses will be in Washington attending a Citizenship Institute sponsored by the American Youth Congress. They will come to discuss citizenship there and then. Meeting with congressmen and administrators of federal agencies, they will explain the problems of their neighborhoods and discuss what can be done to remedy them.

The focal point in their efforts will be the passage of the American Youth Act now being introduced in Congress. It calls for a National Youth Administration of proportions capable of giving opportunity to the five million unemployed youth who without such opportunity can never be expected to be good, useful citizens of our democracy.

Emphasis will also be placed on questions of civil liberties and peace. Opposition will be expressed to repressive legislation in Congress such as the so called "anti-alien" measures. Support will be given to the anti-lynching bill. Opposition will be registered to the attempts being made to amend the National Labor Relations Act, weaken it, and take from labor some of its inherent rights.

Solidly behind the policy of keeping the United States from being involved in war, youth's opinion will be expressed on the already severe effect of the war. The necessity of taking steps to prevent circumvention of our Neutrality Act by munition makers and profiteers intent on the dangerous game of supplying loans and materials to belligerents will also find expression. At the same time, a strong stand will be taken to stop our country from being used as an arsenal

by Japan in its widely condemned invasion of China.

These are issues young people feel strongly about. Their basic concern is for democracy. They realize that if democracy is to prosper it must be a reality—in terms of jobs, peace, civil rights, health, education, and housing—as well as a glittering ideal. This generation is determined to make democracy work, to practice good citizenship instead of just talking about it.

The way has been prepared through organization. For unless there is joint action among young people in organizations and between these organizations, little can be accomplished. Concrete steps toward the full blossoming of our democracy depend on the ability of the best-informed citizens to arouse the great majority from their lethargy. Lack of interest in public affairs is the most dangerous disease imaginable. It exists in America. It must be overcome.

And young people are determined to have a part in doing away with this lethargy, arousing the public to the vital issues of the day—and to the issues on which our tomorrow depends.

In Washington, *Mr. Youth* will be consulting with some of the nation's leaders: congressmen who have introduced vital legislation, public figures such as Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Attorney-General Robert H. Jackson and National Youth Administrator Aubrey Williams. Meeting in the Departmental Auditorium for three days, *Mr. Youth* will be providing leadership for the nation, impetus to the millions of citizens now unwilling to give serious consideration to public affairs. Watch this generation make democracy work. Watch *Mr. Youth go to Washington*.

Who Supports Us?

Equality receives no financial support from any of the various committees set up to combat anti-Semitism. Independent of any organization, *Equality* is financed solely by subscriptions and the financial contributions of individuals sympathetic with its program. Such material support is both welcome and vitally necessary.

In Brief

Add Bad Breaks for the Jews

"Adolph Hitler, the great tub-thumper for Nordic and 'Aryan' superiority, is a fairly typical member of the race to which most Jews belong, the Alpine."
—Institute for Propaganda Analysis: *The Fine Art of Propaganda*.

Recent confabs between representatives of the Dies Committee and national advertisers over how to discredit consumer organizations recall the student jingle:

If you see an un-American

Lurking far or near,

Just alkalize

With Martin Dies

And he will disappear.

Fight Talks for Junior

Once upon a time history texts got the Bronx cheer for dealing mostly with battles.

Times and texts have changed. Things have come to such a pass that Gen. George C. Marshall, Army Chief of Staff, told the American Historical Association: "If we are to have a sound preparation for war, we must have better school textbooks and better methods of teaching history."

The United Jewish Appeal for Refugees and Overseas Needs is giving \$250,000 for Christian refugees.

If turning other cheek is a Christian virtue, best Christians we've heard of these days are Jews.

After two years of investigation and much publicity about "hundreds" of Communists in key government positions, the Dies Committee was unable to produce a single name, Jay Franklin, Washington news commentator, reports.

Nearest they could find was J. B. Matthews, once a "fellow-traveler," now Dies' chief investigator.

The same Washington story quotes a visiting Ohio farmer's reaction to the Dies report.

"Up in Cleveland people are starving," he exclaimed, "here I am with a barn full of stuff I can't sell, and down in Washington they're chasing Communists!"

Merwin K. Hart, active propagandist for General Franco, was chairman of Congressman Dies' Madison Square Garden meeting.

He introduced the Texas representative, who spoke on "The Insidious Wiles of Foreign Influence."

Of 308 "Christian" names of men listed in Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 120 are of Hebraic derivation, a researcher finds.

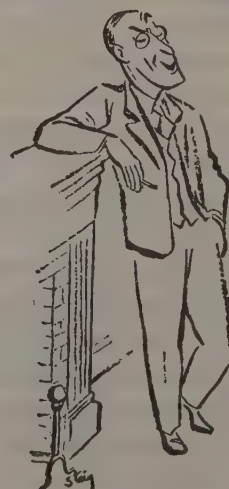
Poultry Notes

Answer to those who see a red under every bed:

"The fact that a hen is a chicken does not prove that every chicken is a hen."—Dean James M. Landis during deportation hearings on Harry Bridges.

1940 prophecy: Dies will expose Roger Williams as first Rhode Island Red.

Do You Know Him?



"I believe in civil liberties but—
we've got to root out foreign influences."



AMERICA WITHOUT ALIENS? by Bernhard Ostrolenk

Dies' Scheme to Deport 7,000,000 Would Destroy Not Make Jobs, Economist Shows

A HOAX of tragic implications is being foisted upon the country by those who want to divert attention of our unemployed from certain weaknesses of our economic system by directing their wrath on the hapless immigrant. There is a growing volume of statements to the effect that "immigrants are taking the jobs of Americans," which means to imply that if we had no immigrants in our midst every American would have a job. Hence one almost expects the Texas logician and statesman, Martin Dies, to see clearly that the remedy is (*New York Times*, December 24) the "deportation of no less than seven million aliens employed in American industries while Americans go without employment." To clinch his case, this tribune of the unemployed couples the word "alien" with "espionage, sabotage and murder."

At the risk of being labeled un-American we presume to doubt Mr. Dies' figures and economics. In face of the statement made by the chairman who seeks

publicity to continue to investigate alleged un-American activity we assert that:

1. There are no seven million aliens in the United States.
2. Aliens do not make for unemployment of Americans.
3. The deportation of seven million people from the United States would have disastrous consequences to American investors, workers, employers, and farmers, to say nothing of what would happen to the Bill of Rights.

1. One has difficulty in knowing whom Mr. Dies designates as "alien." Mostly he uses the word alien as an opprobrious synonym for immigrant. I have a neighbor, a farmer and native of England, who has been in the United States thirty years. He owns a farm, belongs to cooperatives, has American-born children (one goes to college) and has never been

charged with espionage, sabotage, or murder. He has never taken out citizenship papers—I suspect because he is not given much to reading and writing and hence fears the possible embarrassment of being exposed as an ignoramus. Technically he is an alien. Does Mr. Dies wish to deport him?

Let us assume that Mr. Dies is talking about immigrants that have entered the United States in the past fifteen years, or since the enactment of the Quota Act of 1924. The figures of the immigration commissioner show that the total number of immigrants admitted from all countries during this period (1925-1939) is 2,220,264. During this period there have emigrated 877,693 aliens and there have been naturalized over one million aliens. Hence it is exceedingly doubtful if more than half a million aliens from the 1924-1939 period are in the country.

2. Obviously the 1,342,571 net immigrants admitted since 1924 cannot account for an unemployment estimated today at over twelve million. Not all these immigrants were job seekers. Over two-thirds of them were women and children and of the remainder there was a considerable number of entrepreneurs who were job makers—who created business enterprises. At best not a half million workers was added to the labor force of the United States during this period. Obviously the reason for unemployment lies elsewhere.

In fact we may say that we are faced today with the most serious unemployment problem in American economic life after two decades of severe restriction of immigration. During the period when we had large numbers of immigrants entering the country (twelve million from 1890 to 1910) there was an expansion of industrial activity; jobs were plentiful, wages were rising, capital found ready investment opportunity and farm prices were advancing to make possible the best agricultural development of the century. This expansion in agriculture and industry came after free land had become exhausted and when our immigrants were augmenting our urban life. It can readily be shown that our expanding economy of the era resulted from the growth in population brought about by immigration.

It can also be shown that in part the depression and unemployment now afflicting the country are caused by the imbalance created in our economic life, especially in the capital goods industry, by the cessation of immigration. Americans have no jobs because immigrants have stopped coming. Immigration restriction has brought in its wake tragic consequences.

3. Even more disastrous than our fatal restriction

laws in its immediate consequence would be the deportation of seven million people, presumably rounded up by Mr. Dies' inquisitorial vigilantes. Mr. Dies, of course, is not concerned with the unprecedented misery such a step would cause to the victims. Hence we will omit any discussion of this phase except to point out that in magnitude of creating a homeless population it would transcend anything done by the Nazis in Germany. Nor need we concern ourselves at this time with the brutishness and other fascistic features we would have to adopt in order to harden ourselves to the task.

But what would now happen to the American employer, worker and farmer? The theory is that these seven million deportees would vacate jobs to be filled by Americans. This is extremely naïve economics. It is based on a sort of Malthusian theory, abandoned over a century ago, that the number of jobs is fixed, and if there are fewer workers, the more jobs per worker. The truth, of course, is that jobs are most abundant and wages are highest if there is an adequate number of workers to develop the resources of a country. So fantastic a proposition as to deport seven million would result in a contraction of American economy to such an extent that a balance probably could not be reestablished in a century. Ask any real estate man what would happen to real estate values if as many as a million people were moved out of New York City. What would happen to values of mortgages, to the holdings of insurance companies, savings banks, building and loan associations? So incredible a step would wipe out the accumulated savings of our people.

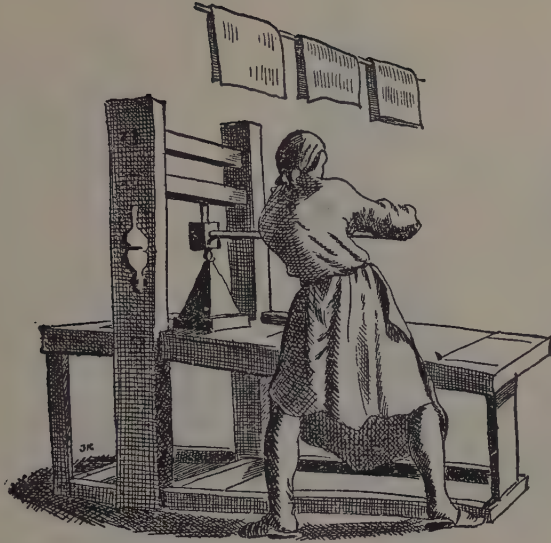
And as for jobs? Present unemployment has its origins in the capital goods industry—notably the building trades and complementary industries, in the production of steel, fixtures, etc. The removal of so large an element in our population would literally destroy jobs in the capital goods, consumer goods, service, and collateral industries by the millions.

The farmer would be even more hard hit than investors, employers, and workers. Under great strain, our agriculture is trying to adjust production to domestic needs by putting out of cultivation forty million acres formerly devoted to the production of export commodities. The task is in its infancy and is creating in its wake painful readjustments. It is leaving a stranded rural population. To further curtail the domestic market by the elimination of seven million people would be an almost irreparable blow.

Mr. Dies' suggestion from the standpoint of national welfare is reckless and irresponsible.

Builders of Democracy

BY ALBERT DEUTSCH



John Peter Zenger and Freedom of the Press

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue
freely according to conscience, above all liberties."
—John Milton, *Areopagitica*, 1644.

A LITTLE less than a century after the great poet penned his stirring *Areopagitica*, historical circumstance lifted a lowly printer in colonial America from obscurity to an eminent place, side by side with Milton, as a builder of democratic rights.

The administration of William Cosby, royal governor of New York province from 1731 to 1736, was characterized by bitter strife between the hated Tory "court party" and the "popular party." Newspapers were very rare in those days, and the only paper in New York—William Bradford's *Weekly Gazette*—was the organ of the Governor and his party. In 1733 a second newspaper, the *Weekly Journal*, was founded in New York by John Peter Zenger as the organ of the popular party. This was the first "opposition paper" to be established in the American colonies. Its publisher, Zenger, was a poor young German who had been brought to this country during the great Palatine migration of 1709 and indentured to a printer.

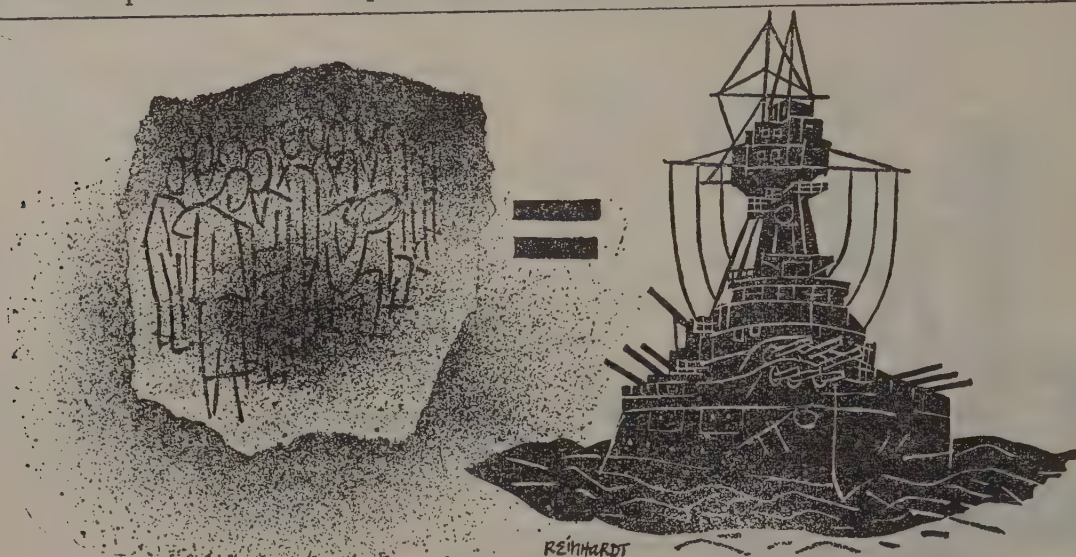
Zenger directed a running-fire of blistering satires at the Governor and the court party. It took extreme daring in those days to publish lampoons against the royal administration. In the fall of 1734 the inevitable campaign to silence Zenger began in earnest. Proclamations were issued declaring that his paper contained "divers Scandalous, Virulent, False and Seditious Reflections." Cosby railed against the *Journal*

as tending to alienate the people's affections "from the best of Kings." Certain issues of the *Journal* were ordered to be burned in public by the common hangman. A few days later Zenger was arrested and dragged to jail where he was confined for ten months pending trial on a charge of seditious libel, because he was unable to pay the exorbitant bail set by the judges. During this time he issued instructions to his wife and aides for carrying on his newspaper through "the Hole of the Door of the Prison." No sooner was the trial begun than his two lawyers were summarily disbarred for challenging the right of the Governor's notorious henchmen to try the case. No New York lawyer thereafter had the courage to defend Zenger. Finally a Philadelphia lawyer, the venerable Andrew Hamilton, agreed to defend him without fee.

According to judicial practice at that time, the jury's only function was to decide whether or not the alleged libel had been published by the defendant. Power to determine all other circumstances was vested solely in the judges. It did not matter if the libelous statement was true or false. Indeed, the prevailing legal maxim was "the greater the truth the greater the libel." Disregarding all accepted precedent, Hamilton insisted that the jury had the right to consider the truth or falsity of the alleged libel and appealed directly to the jury from the bench's adverse ruling. In a masterly address the aged advocate—a Clarence Darrow of his day in courage and independence—warned the jurors that their own liberties were at stake as well as the defendant's and urged them to

(Continued on page 33)

TREND OF THE TIMES: Destroying 100,000 WPA jobs saves \$60,000,000 a year. This pays for one 35,000-ton battleship. Relief cuts correspond closely to increase in war items and affect half a million men.



A YEAR OF RELIEF—OR TWO WEEKS OF WAR? by Samuel Grafton

ONE of the hungry Clevelanders I interviewed was a big Croatian, nearly sixty years old. He had not eaten in more than two days.

He said to me: "I hope there's a war. I can still use a gun and I would have enough to eat."

I left this incident out of my dispatches from Cleveland. I was afraid it wouldn't be believed. It happened, but it was too pat. I came out of Cleveland feeling that that city at least has taken one long step on the road to war. It has cut 16,000 persons off relief, and they are hungry.

The Ohio politicians refuse to spend money on relief. They would infinitely prefer war as a "solution"—if not today, a few months from now. The news from Washington is that WPA appropriations will be cut to \$1,000,000,000 from the \$1,477,000,000 of this year and \$2,250,000,000 of the year before.

The class of the dispossessed grows bigger month by month, in spite of phony war "prosperity." The 10,000,000 unemployed, the majority of them denied relief or WPA, will, in sheer desperation, march when the whore of war beckons to them. Those who want war will then shed crocodile tears for the jobless, as

once they did in 1917 for the poor farmers and laborers whose interests had to be protected—by war. Or so they said.

The fight against war cannot be separated from the fight for relief and jobs. It must be the struggle of everyone who is against war to compel the government to spend enough so as to take care of the jobless without war. To spend enough so as to remove from industry the excuse that it needs war orders to "maintain employment."

Government spending should actually compete with the spending of the belligerents here, to prevent the country from being tied completely to war's apron strings. Our budget, at the peak of the last war, was \$500,000,000 per week. Our entire proposed WPA appropriation for next year, therefore, represents only two weeks of the cost of war.

If we spent two months of a war budget for relief and jobs, we might stay out. Otherwise, the moment the belligerents' cash runs out, the same interests which do not now care at all about the 10,000,000 unemployed will be in Washington, whooping it up for war—for the sake of labor. We know they will do this. They did it last time.

Father Coughlin Knows He Lies

(Continued from page 12)

for them if they would restore Gotham to America."

In a signed statement appearing in *Social Justice* for August 14 and addressed to the "gentlemen of the Christian Front," Father Coughlin felt constrained to say that he could not participate officially within the organization on grounds of expediency, and that "I must act in no other capacity toward you than as friend and counsellor, whose privilege it is to address you in your homes each Sunday."

A full page appeal for funds for Father Coughlin's broadcasts carried in *Social Justice* of August 7, included this statement: "The place for you, as a Christian, is on the Christian Front."

When *Equality* exposed the New York "Christian" Front in its Open Letter to Archbishop Spellman, *Social Justice* (October 9, 1939) immediately sprang to the Frontists' defense, referring to them as "soldiers of Christ." Criticizing the editors of *Equality* the article stated: "They ignore the fact that the Christian Front, far from attempting to create 'an anarchic situation' in a time of crisis, grew spontaneously out of the existence of just such a situation in New York City. When the New York anti-Christian front recognizes the existence of crisis and the possibility of chaos and calls off the Scribes, Pharisees and vinegar-bearing soldiery, then there will be no need for a defensive Christian Front."

An editorial in *Social Justice* of December 4, 1939, bitterly criticizing a series of expose articles on Father Coughlin written by John L. Spivak, contained this thinly disguised incitement to direct violence:

Inaction is not necessarily a Christian virtue. Christ, you recall, took the cord of his garment and physically lashed the money changers out of the portico of the sacred Temple of Jerusalem. Was Christ precipitate? Are we to be more "Christian" than Christ?

What, then, are we waiting for—the revolution? Let's go!

Finally, a full-page appeal for broadcast funds printed in *Social Justice* of January 1, 1940, contained this statement: "These great broadcasts are YOURS. Father Coughlin is only the spokesman for a rapidly forming and tremendously powerful element of our country—the Christian Front." This statement appeared just two weeks before the federal roundup of the Frontist terrorists took place.

Father Curran Rides Circuit

Father Coughlin has on a number of occasions addressed meetings organized by "Christian" Front units in Boston, New York, Minneapolis and elsewhere through piped-in telephone, giving his blessing to their leaders and to their activities. His adjutant at the Shrine of the Little Flower in Royal Oak, the Rev. Cyril Keating, has attended and spoken at such meetings as Coughlin's personal representative. One of Coughlin's closest associates, Father Edward Lodge Curran, president of the International Catholic Truth Society and regular columnist for *Social Justice*, has been "riding the circuit" of "Christian" Front meetings in various parts of the country as a principal speaker. Other representatives of Father Coughlin or his organ, *Social Justice*, such as Leo F. Reardon and Bernard D'Arcy, have repeatedly heaped fulsome praise upon specific "Christian" Front units in New York and other centers.

A great deal of additional evidence of Father Coughlin's responsibility in the creation and promotion of the "Christian" Front organization could be presented. Not all the frantic efforts of the radio priest to disassociate himself now from the horrible monster he has carefully nourished can shake off the accusing finger of the irrefutable fact.

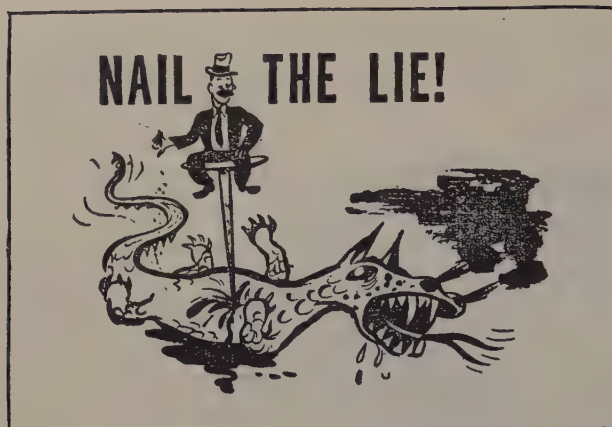
When the sensational revelations of the F.B.I. concerning the "Christian" Front appeared, Father Coughlin, like Frankenstein, lost no time in trying to shake himself off from the monster of his own creation. In his frantic haste to ditch his fanatical dupes and associates, he managed to entangle himself in several vital contradictions. He now condemned the organization upon which he had heretofore showered fulsome praise, characterizing it as "a group of Bundists aligned with Communists." Claiming he had "roundly disavowed" the "Christian" Front organization, he continued, according to press reports:

Moreover, following October 25 of last year, they sent me a check of some \$1,000 which I returned in a public manner, telling them I would not accept such kind of money and advising my followers to have nothing to do with such organizations.

Father Coughlin also declared that he had repeatedly "disavowed" Cassidy. "I had to appeal to Cassidy," he is reported to have said, "when he planned to have some crazy march on New York City Hall in my name about eight or ten months ago. I had to tell him to lay off."

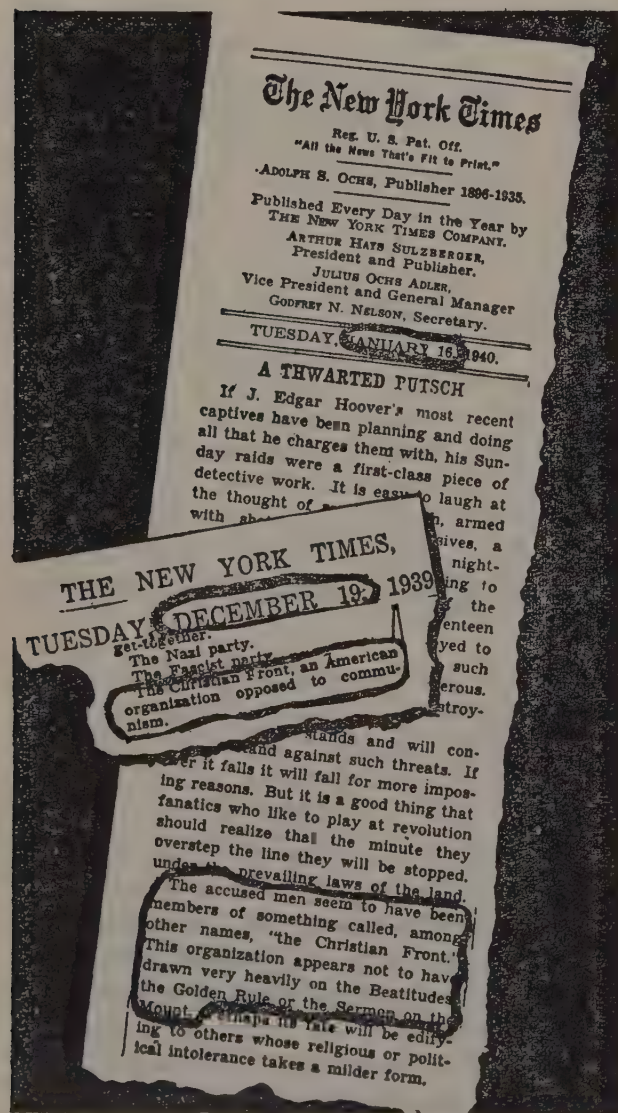
Father Coughlin's reference to the "crazy march"

(Continued on page 28)



The Un-American Front

Four weeks to a day after it had given the "Christian" Front a free plug as "an American organization," the *New York Times* discovers its mistake and nails the lie.



Father Coughlin Knows He Lies

(Continued from page 27)

evidently applies to the demonstration planned by some of his followers in August of last year, and called off at the behest of Father Coughlin following a storm of protest against the provocative parade. It was not Cassidy that Father Coughlin addressed himself to on that occasion, but a fanatical follower named Lawrence Gilpatrick. In its issue of September 4, 1939, *Social Justice* branded as untrue the reports that the parade had been organized by the "Christian" Front, and declared that its planners were the "Christian" Mobilizers, a split-off group from the Front. "Father Coughlin, *Social Justice* and the Christian Front all protested the proposal to hold a parade of the sort planned by the Mobilizers," according to the *Social Justice* version. "Largely as a result of these protests requests for a parade permit were withdrawn."

As for the "Christian" Front gift of \$1,000 returned by Father Coughlin "in a public manner," no record of the incident can be found. On the contrary, Father Coughlin birthday balls were held by "Christian" Front groups in New York City and other localities, evidently with the full support of Father Coughlin, and the money thus raised was poured into the coffers of his enterprises. What did happen was that a check for \$128—not \$1,000—was returned to the "Christian" Mobilizers, not to the "Christian" Front.

Who is John F. Cassidy?

We have already made several references to the national "feuhrer" of the "Christian" Front, John F. Cassidy, who is tendered the fascist salute by his followers. It may serve to round out the picture by presenting some additional biographical material concerning this individual.

Before the forming of the "Christian" Front, John F. Cassidy was an active member of Father Curran's International Catholic Truth Society, and was a principal speaker at anti-Semitic street meetings held in Brooklyn under the society's auspices beginning with the fall of 1938. Another prominent member and speaker of Curran's society at that time was Floyd Caridi, who helped found the "Christian" Front and became one of its leaders.

Cassidy attended most of the organizing meetings of the "Christian" Front held at the rectory of the Paulist Fathers in Manhattan under the guidance of Father Edward Burke during the winter of 1938-39.*

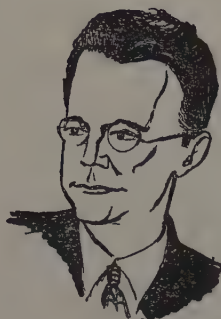
* See October issue of *Equality*.

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WE APPLAUD

REV. OWEN A. KNOX

*The fighting parson
for civil liberties.*



THE Rev. Owen A. Knox of Detroit is a mild, scholarly man. He loves peace and recoils from conflict like most Americans. But when the liberties of his fellow-men are threatened he becomes "the fighting parson."

As minister of Bethlehem Methodist Church and treasurer of the Civil Rights Federation he has been an outspoken defender of the Bill of Rights in Detroit, where Henry Ford, Father Coughlin, the Black Legion, Gerald L. K. Smith, and reactionary public officials are 'branding the city as a place of oppression.

He spoke out against attempts by Police Commissioner Pickert to deny labor unions and Negroes their rights. He made a devastating reply to the Jew-hating demagogue, the "Rev." Gerald L. K. Smith, over Station WJR, which brought him commendation and encouragement from all over the Middle West.

It was, therefore, not surprising that these sinister elements should retaliate in their characteristic fashion—with violence. On December 19, Mr. Knox was scheduled to address an anti-Coughlin rally. Just before the meeting, a vigilante mob of Coughlin and Smith followers, brandishing clubs and pieces of lead pipe, surrounded the meeting hall. Mr. Knox went out to get protection from the police. The latter did not interfere even when five ruffians ganged up and beat him brutally. Bleeding, his jaw badly swollen, and with three of his front teeth knocked out, the clergyman nevertheless returned to the hall and electrified his listeners with a ringing denunciation of Smith, Coughlin, and gangster recourse to violence.

Americanism, bandied and abused by patrioteering hypocrites, takes on real meaning and dignity in the actions of the Rev. Owen A. Knox.

WE CONDEMN

MAJOR GENERAL
JOHN F. O'RYAN

*Thinks perhaps we
should go to war.*



MAJOR GEN. JOHN F. O'RYAN is a general, a spirited man. Therefore, he is very impatient, rearin' to go. In the last World War he commanded the Twenty-Seventh Division. He was a handsome figure on horseback during dress parades. He tasted blood and apparently he liked it. It wasn't his own blood but that of his men.

General O'Ryan didn't even do what well-bred generals are supposed to do—he didn't die in bed. Instead, after more than twenty years of good-living and horse-back riding on the bridle-paths of Central Park, while the poppies have been nodding over the moldering remains of many of his men in Flanders fields, he ate a fine dinner at the National Republican Club on the night of December 19. Filled with the kindness and good humor that comes with cigars and coffee he made a speech. It was a very good speech. The diners liked it a lot. They applauded heartily.

Said the general:

Looking ahead, it is conceivable that in our own interest we should enter the war now in order to prevent a stalemate; that our action now in support of the Allies would so impair the morale of the German people that Hitler could no longer afford to continue his present aggressions. I do not advocate this course, for the moment at least, for all possible outcomes of the war must be viewed relatively.

Now the General is a very moral man. However, one wonders what the moral viewpoint will be of those young Americans who may be called upon to shed their blood for the General's social and political morality.

FATHER COUGHLIN STREAMLINES FOR WAR

An Editorial

FATHER COUGHLIN is a more menacing demagogue today than he was a year ago! This is true even though some sections of society are being misled by the false notion that anti-Semitism has receded in America since fall. This notion is factually erroneous and terribly dangerous. It has received credence, not because of any lessening of anti-Semitic activity, but by the overshadowing prominence, in newspapers and in our thoughts, of the questions of war and peace. But it is exactly this which gives Father Coughlin and his followers their greatest opportunity.

On the opposite page are some of the latest examples of the work of the Street Troopers of anti-Semitism. These indecent leaflets have been distributed by the tens of thousands. They are unsigned. But one has only to read *Social Justice* to see where the fountain head of this new brand of poison resides. As Father Coughlin goes, so the leaflets, speeches, and activities of the Street Troopers go. The corner medicine men sell the manufacturer's product, and when a new brand of poison is concocted, it appears simultaneously in *Social Justice* and on the streets of our cities.

A new, terribly dangerous falsehood being spread by the anti-Semites is this: that the Jews are responsible for the war in Europe, that they are making profits from the war, and *that they will be responsible if America goes to war*. Week by week, with steady, patient, insidious falsehoods, *Social Justice* is selling this to its readers. At the same time, Father Coughlin hypocritically pretends to be a champion of peace. He is most carefully exploiting the burning desire of the American people to remain at peace while building the myth that "Jewish international bankers" and "Jewish capitalists" are striving to involve America in war. That there are war-mongers in the world and in America we know! The role of J. P. Morgan, as credit man for England, in involving us in the last hideous conflict is known to everyone. But that this had nothing to do with J. P. Morgan's religion is equally clear. It was not the fact that J. P. Morgan was a Protestant which made him wish to see American soldiers protect

his financial interests. The same would have been true if he were a Jew.

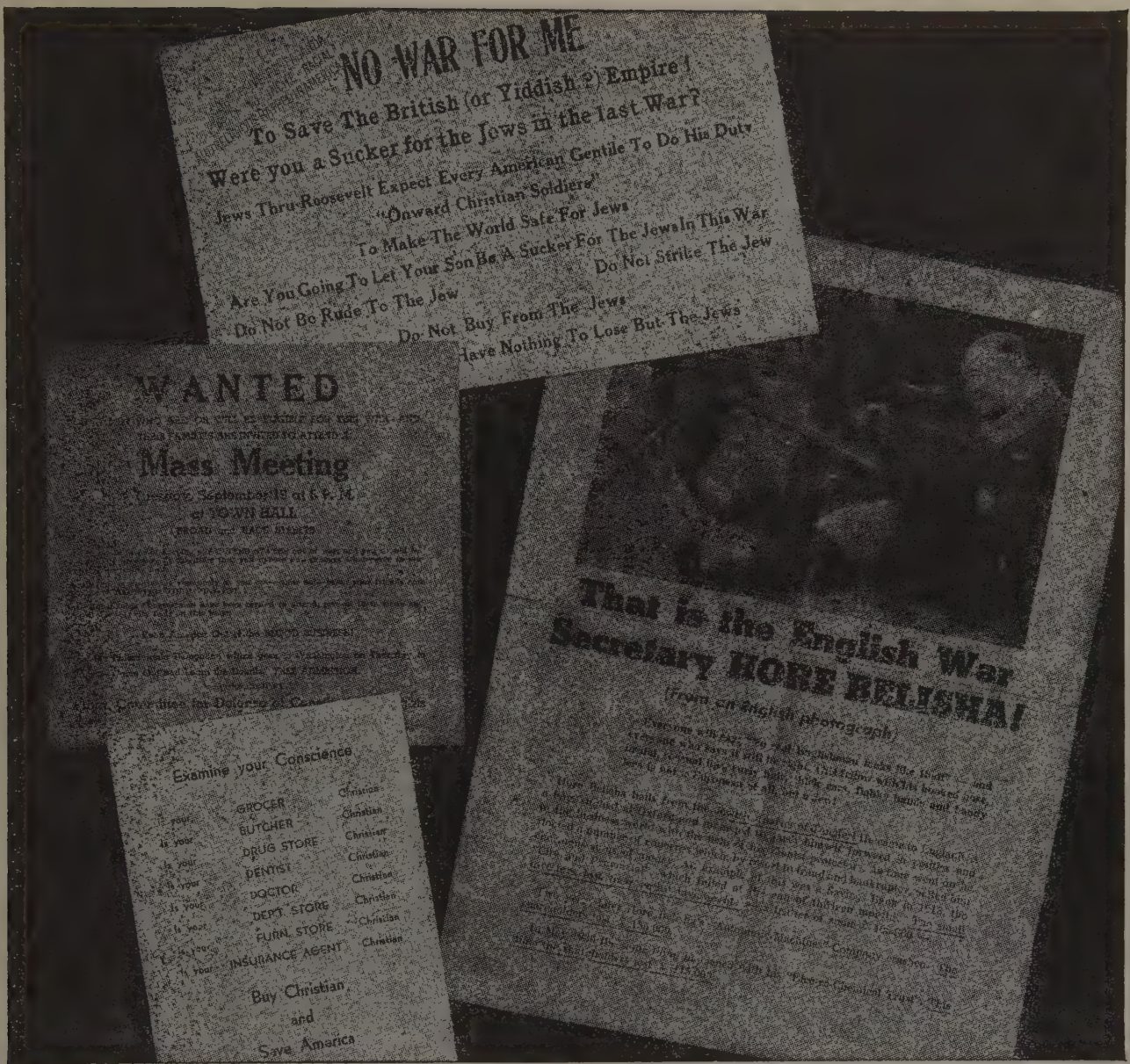
Father Coughlin knows this! Father Coughlin knows that if America enters the present war it will not be Jewry, or any other minority body, that has brought it about. But he also knows that the American people do not want to go to war. He knows that if America allows itself to be involved in a war there will be very direct consequences. As casualty lists mount, as lives are wrecked, as war-weariness sets in, the agony and rage of the whole people will grow. Father Coughlin intends to turn that rage against the Jews. Father Coughlin knows that an even greater opportunity will occur when the war is at last over—because then a disastrous depression must follow upon the futile wreckage of the world's economic life. And he is preparing to use that too!

These are facts! The day America goes to war the fires of anti-Semitism will receive new fuel. The day peace is declared anti-Semitism will begin to flame. We have only to recall that the Ku Klux Klan, with its anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic, anti-Negro, anti-alien program, swept into action in the hard years after the war, growing like a great poisoned mushroom in all sections of the country, north, south, east, west. Remember: the whole people suffers from war and from war's aftermath, *but minority groups suffer the most. Let us not forget this in the days to come!*

What is to be done? There are two things:

The fight against Coughlin, against all open and undercover anti-Semites, must be redoubled. There must be no relaxation, no confusion, no false sense of security. At the same time let all decent people wage this fight with a sense of encouragement: the open struggle against anti-Semitism is having its effect. We can report, with a sense of victory, that in recent months thousands of readers of *Social Justice* have failed to renew their subscriptions. This is one pleasant fact we happen to know. No one must overestimate it however. Trends can be reversed and if war comes, *war will be on Father Coughlin's side.*

Secondly, and most important, each one of us must



Knowing war's aftermath of depression and disillusionment, the Coughlin terrorists and their U. S. and foreign allies sow the seeds of future pogroms by spreading among peace-loving peoples the fiction of a "Jewish war."

realize clearly that the fight against anti-Semitism today must at the same time be a fight to maintain the peace and economic security of America. War will breed anti-Semitism. Every repetition of the Cleveland relief situation will breed anti-Semitism. Jews especially must realize it. They must be in the forefront of the fight for peace. They must support every measure which will improve the standard of living of the great mass of American people. Above all, at this moment, Jews, Christians, all decent, mentally unregimented Americans, must speak out with courage

against attempts to deprive any minority group whatsoever of its civil rights. Like a dike standing against a disastrous flood, civil rights protect all of us only as they protect the least one of us. One breach and the flood cannot be controlled. Destroy one brick and the whole country will be swept under. The anti-Semites know this—and we must know it too.

Democracy, decency, humanity, are on our side. Let us stand together now for peace, for civil liberty, for the social welfare of all. Let us make ourselves heard! Let us stand fast!

Father Coughlin Knows He Lies

(Continued from page 28)

At a Coughlinite meeting held at Erasmus Hall High School in Brooklyn, December 29, 1938, Cassidy launched a bitter tirade against the Jews, whom he identified with the "reds," and announced the imminent formation of the "Christian" Front unit to fight Communism by force, if necessary. At a "Father Coughlin rally" at Erasmus Hall the following week, Cassidy, the principal speaker, was introduced as representing the Catholic Truth Society. Speaking on the same platform was Herbert Lewis, a known agitator of the Nazi Bund.

A forceful orator, Cassidy was given to violent diatribes apparently consciously patterned after Hitler's oratorical methods. He often shared the same platform with openly acknowledged Nazi Bundists.

"We have tried the pen and now we must use the sword," was a constantly repeated expression of his at meetings. "The time is ripe for action," he shouted at Prospect Hall, Brooklyn, July 28, 1939.

At meetings restricted to "Christian" Front members, Cassidy always urged the younger members to join the "sports club." He particularly stressed the need of training Fronters in the use of leaded walking sticks for street fighting and "other things." His talks were deeply tinged with pious expressions of religious belief, making it appear that the "counter-revolutionary" movement he headed was a religious crusade.

Accompanying him at many meetings in New York and other cities was William Arneck—one of the men arrested with him—known under many aliases, including "Bishop" and "Larson." At the meetings, Cassidy introduced Arneck as "Bill," the military director of the "Christian" Front, whose work was so important that his real name could not be revealed. Arneck is a known Nazi propagandist illegally in this country, whose scheduled deportation at one time was mysteriously cancelled. He speaks with a pronounced German accent. Arneck shared with Cassidy the leadership of the "Christian" Front, not only in New York but in other centers of Coughlinite activity. Invariably he urged the "Christian" Front membership to join the "sports clubs." At a meeting in Philadelphia shortly before his arrest he boasted: "We have the guns and soon we will call on Philadelphia to join our ranks." He frequently referred to anti-union, strikebreaking activities in which, apparently, he had played a leading part.

Cassidy was regularly called the "fuehrer" by his

followers, and received the fascist salute before and after speeches. He frankly informed his listeners that the Front was organized on strict military lines, with the leader in absolute control, and that democratic procedure would not be tolerated. In defending the military training of the Frontists, it was his custom to cite the "constitutional rights" of all people to bear arms. One of his favorite devices was to strike fear into the hearts of his audiences with a lurid picture of a "red revolution" slated for approximately the day after tomorrow, and then to urge the necessity for the immediate formation of a "counter-revolutionary" private army.

Bring the "Big Shots" to Book!

Aside from Cassidy and Arneck, the men arrested in New York may be considered "small fry." We waste no sympathy on these terrorists, who knowingly conspired to start a reign of terror, wholesale assassination, and revolt. Nor do we consider their relatively humble stations in life necessarily a mitigating factor; Hitler started as a house-painter. However, justice will not be done until the "big shots" are brought to book. Who has been shielding the higher-ups in this hideous conspiracy? Why did the Dies Committee—which cannot plead ignorance because we know that mountains of evidence concerning the Coughlinites similar to that uncovered by the Department of Justice men were placed before it—studiously avoid any investigation of Father Coughlin and his "Christian" Front? Let us hope that the Department of Justice has the courage to get down to the roots of this case, and dig out the *real* instigators of this plot.

Here, then, are the facts about Father Coughlin and the "Christian" Front. They are clear, they are incontrovertible, they are as damning as any evidence can be. *Equality* appeals to the Hierarchy of the Catholic Church to take cognizance of these facts *and to act upon them*. We appeal to the Catholic leaders of America to end their silence, to disavow the "Christian" Front, and to rebuke Father Coughlin.

Finally, we request Attorney-General Robert H. Jackson and Chief J. Edgar Hoover of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to go below the surface of the activities already uncovered, and, specifically, to investigate the connection of Father Coughlin with the "Christian" Front.

Vigilantes and terrorists are always tools of more insidious groups and figures.

One eighth of the conspiracy has been exposed; the other seven eighths still lives and acts in security. It must be uncovered.

The Folklore of White Historians

(Continued from page 20)

to take up arms. They contended that the Declaration of Independence should be taken seriously—that all men are created equal—and advocated the abolition of chattel slavery. After independence was won, all the Northern states, save Delaware, abolished slavery, a tremendous step forward for the nation.

The reaction which later set in, plus the profits in cotton, defeated the emancipation movement in the South. From 1830 to 1860, slavery with its pseudo-science of human inequality furnished the greatest contradiction to the democratic ideal. The Northern Negroes through their conventions of this period pointed out to their fellow-abolitionists, who in turn clarified the point to the country, that as the slave interests moved to protect their property by silencing free discussion, liberty itself was being threatened.

When the Civil War did destroy the slave system, this was a gain not alone for the four million slaves now given physical freedom. The poor whites in the South were for the first time free. Labor in the North now realized new opportunities. Homesteads were opened to the small farmers. Public education made its greatest leap forward. The extension of the franchise to all men irrespective of race, color, or previous condition of servitude meant that the frontier of democracy had moved nearer the Great Dream.

Today, what we call "the Negro problem" is really "Democracy's Problem No. 1." Lynching, discrimination, segregation, disfranchisement in the lower South are truly threats to the liberties of us all. In those areas where the liberties of black men are least, freedom for all men is least. It is a disconcerting wonder that liberals, workers, and minorities, justly interested in their own freedom and security, so often fail to recognize that the crux of the fight to preserve democracy is the fight for "Negro rights."

In a truly heroic effort to call attention to anti-Negro propaganda in history, Negroes all over the nation will celebrate February 11-18 as Negro History Week. Since 1916 the scholarly *Journal of Negro History* has been published as a corrective to the unscientific distortions and omissions. Almost every large city now boasts of a branch of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. There is also the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature of the New York Public Library. Negro History Week, in a sense, is a misnomer. It is thoroughly proper that all Americans should join in this reinterpretation of American history and life.

Four Million Dollars Worth of Wind

(Continued from page 18)

with the wind all right, they were going north. Despite one white overseer for every fifteen slaves, despite patrols in every district, despite the fact that tens of thousands of Confederate soldiers never saw front line action because they had to be kept at home to keep down insurrection, these slaves were breaking for freedom, gaining freedom, winning the right to fight in the Union armies! And they fought! They fought so well and so hard and so bravely and in such numbers *that the central political question of the Confederacy in the last two years of its existence was whether or not to free its slaves in the hope of getting them to fight in the Southern armies.*

But this is not part of the history that *Gone With the Wind* has chosen to tell. The army of Sherman is not shown as an army of emancipation, but as a locust plague of brutes trampling on the fair South.

The Negro organizations of this country have reacted as they should have to this mint julep slaver's film. They have declared a boycott against it. In this they have already been joined by trade unions, by many liberal and progressive organizations. This is just what is needed. It's splendid. We live at a time when civil liberties, when the rights of minorities, are being threatened, slandered, attacked and misrepresented on all fronts. We who believe with real sincerity in civil liberty, we who give more than lip service to the idea of equality, must fight back! And this means on all fronts. Or else we shall be naïve fools, too careless of our own security to be worthy of liberty.

Boycott this film. Spread the word to boycott it. Let us take an honest, democratic pleasure in doing so. Let us turn this four million dollar epic into a four million dollar deficit. Hollywood will understand us then.

Builders of Democracy: John Peter Zenger

(Continued from page 25)

strike a blow for freedom for themselves and their posterity. To this powerful plea the jury responded by acquitting Zenger, while the people who packed the courtroom cheered wildly.

This trial established an important principle and struck off some of the heavy shackles that had hitherto bound the press. It also did much to crystallize the spirit of independence that found forceful expression in the Revolution four decades later.

Books

An Honorable People

CHILDREN OF GOD. *By Vardis Fisher.* 784 pages. Harper Bros. \$3.00.

VARDIS FISHER, brought up in the Mormon faith, assays the rejected faith of his fathers with human sympathy and distant vision. In this long story there is contained an encyclopedia of Mormon history, some fictional threads, a wealth of psychic hypotheses, such as those concerning the genesis of the vision and revelations of Joseph Smith, a stout understanding of the statesmanship of Brigham Young, and a superb study of the inner apostasy of the Church, corrupted by trade, investment and land speculation. The betrayal of the plural-marriage families is poignant, acrid, illuminating. No textbook in the history of religions (especially of the material basis of the transmutation of dogmas through a hierarchy at the service of changed property relations) could possibly be more informative than in the grand parchment unrolled by Fisher. Nothing is concealed: if Fisher rejects the Mormon hagiology, he also defends the fundamental motion of this heroic and honorable people against their obscene persecutors. The book can only serve to glorify the outraged Mormon people and to hold to everlasting contempt the hypocrites who led them from the land of Egypt to Babylonian captivity.

What is missing? Everything, despite the merits. First, apart from scattered episodes, the fictional problem is evaded. The dialogue is mere paraphrase, and not too happy paraphrase. The style is pedestrian and always unlovely. The great sponge of Americanism, sopping up the poor of Britain and Scandinavia, was the real historic form of Mor-

monism. It is a function of the American frontier attraction for the disinherited Protestants of the earth. Without that, Mormonism would have been a mere picturesque aberration; with it, it became a giant community. The United Order and the inner crack of communalism, should have been central, especially its roots in the water and wall-town cultures of the valley. The aberrant policy of Young toward Union Pacific maneuvers, the copper-mining source of Connor's politics and the liberalism of Stenhouse, should have held the drama. On the other hand, such necessary forms as the local Gestapo, called Danites, are given excellently. Unfortunately, the picturesque element in plural marriage, the inner relations of the wives, are merely suggested, whereas, humanly they offer a new universe to novelists. Unlike the harem, this open association is as rich in possibilities as the everlasting theme of adultery in classic fiction.

If you seek a novel, go elsewhere. If you seek a widening of vision and a new understanding, rest in Vardis Fisher's caravansary, for he is a gorgeous host.

WILLIAM BLAKE

Green Pastures

AMERICAN TEL & TEL: *The Story of a Great Monopoly.* By Horace Coon. 276 pages. Longmans, Green and Company. \$3.00.

HERE is capitalism with its face washed, its hair slicked down, its manners agreeably civilized. A. T. & T., the \$5,000,000,000 behemoth of monopoly, the biggest and best corporation ever conceived by the mind of Morgan, is rugged American individualism's challenge to collectivism.

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Away with such destructive envy! Rather let us contemplate the innate

perfection of A. T. & T., the happiness of its stockholders, the contentment of its employees, the assurance of its customers that nothing this side of heaven can quite match the certainty of long-distance calls and monthly bills. Let us wonder why U. S. Steel, General Motors, and the New York Central cannot attain a comparable stability of dividends, employment, and service. And let us get that 25 per cent reduction in telephone tolls which, a Federal Communications Commission report tells us, can be achieved without toppling over this most perfect of all conceivable monopolies.

HARVEY O'CONNOR

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